QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

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QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

VOL. II.

JULY, 1894–APRIL, 1895.

PUBLISHED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY
THE NEWS PUBLISHING HOUSE,
KINGSTON, CANADA.

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Editorial Committee.

JAMES CAPPON, M.A. N. F. DUPUIS, M.A. DONALD ROSS, D.D.
H. SAUNDERS, M.D. S. W. DYDE, D.Sc. R. V. ROGERS, B.A., Q.C
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Business Editors.

T. J. THOMPSON. W. J. HERBISON.

All business communications should be addressed to the Sec.-Treas.,

T. J. THOMPSON,
BOX A.
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All articles intended for publication, books for review, exchanges,—and all correspondence relating thereto—should be addressed to the editors, Box A, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.

CONGREGATIONAL PRAYER.

ADDRESS TO THE THEOLOGICAL ALUMNI OF QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY, APRIL 25TH, 1894.

AS a layman and life-long Presbyterian, I ask permission to submit some thoughts on the subject of congregational prayer. I venture to do so for the reason that it appears to me a subject which ministers and laymen alike should consider. It is a subject which cannot but be of profound interest to those whose privilege it is to conduct public worship, and obviously it concerns every man and woman in every congregation within the bounds of the Dominion.

In the Presbyterian Church we are in the habit of hearing from the pulpit only; the pew seldom finds utterance. I make bold to break through the rule established by usage and give vent to thoughts long pondered on and long unspoken. In this voice from the pew to the pulpit, not a word will be heard or thought discernible in any way wanting in the highest respect for the ministerial office.

I shall first state a proposition to which all wlll assent: Public worship is a divinely appointed duty, and congregational prayer is an essential part of public worship. Joint prayer is one of the principal objects designed by Christian people in coming together for the worship of God.

We are all familiar with the ordinary services, in which extem-

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poraneous prayer by the minister on behalf of the congregation is the universal practice. It is not necessary to enter at any length into the origin and history of this usage. It is well known that Calvin, Knox, and other reformers, held the opinion that there should be pre-arranged forms of prayer, with provision during some part of the service for extemporaneous prayer on special occasions; that there should in fact be what may be termed a discretionary liturgy, and that while restrained by no undue strictness the minister should use the written forms.

These were the views held by the fathers of the Presbyterian Church, and their ideas were carried into practice for many years after the Reformation. It is only necessary to refer to "The Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland," a liturgy prepared by Knox himself after the Geneva model, and commonly known as John Knox's liturgy. This prayer book was used in the Presbyterian congregations of Scotland for generations.

The first General Assembly was held in 1560. At that date Knox's liturgy was in use, and four years later, in 1564, this liturgy was formally accepted by the Church. For a period of at least 82 years—being from 1564 to 1645—the law of the Church enjoined the use of this liturgical work at the principal services each Sabbath. Indeed it does not appear that it was ever formally abolished. In the 16th and 17th centuries twenty editions of the old Presbyterian liturgy were issued from the press, of which sixteen editions were printed in Edinburgh and four in Aberdeen.

Some of the records of the Kirk sessions in the first half of the 17th century refer to the regular "reading of prayers in the morning and the evening services in the public audience of the people." At this period there was generally in each congregation, a Reader often the Parish Schoolmaster. He read regularly the prayers, the Scriptures and the psalms, the minister preaching the sermon. After the Westminster Assembly the office of the Reader gradually disappeared and the whole service was conducted by the minister.

There is abundant evidence therefore to establish that in the early days of the Church, prayers were read in the assemblies of the people, and that the people were familiar with them and assent-

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ed to them as their own, is obvious from the fact that for convenience they were frequently bound up with their Bibles.

It is equally true that considerable latitude was allowed, and that during some portion of the service the minister was not tied to set forms and words; yet generally he was enjoined to use the forms prescribed.

Such was the law of the Church and the practice of Presbyterian congregations before the middle of the 17th century. At that period in the history of Scotland political exigencies arose which caused the liturgical service to fall into disuse. We all know that the aversion to forms of prayer which set in was a reaction against the efforts of Charles I. and Laud, to force upon the Scotch people, a hated episcopacy with a liturgy repugnant to them described by Macaulay as being a step taken in mere wantonness of tyranny and in criminal ignorance and more criminal contempt of public feeling" a step, which, if in its effects it produced a change in the presbyterian service, was also one of the events which led to a change of dynasty. Whatever the cause of the change, the fact that pre-arranged forms were used to a greater or less degree for the greater part of a century establishes, that set forms of prayer are in no way inconsistent with, or antagonistic to, the fundamental principles of Presbyterianism. The change from a liturgical to a non-liturgical service simply proves that Presbyterianism is characterized by great freedom and flexibility, and as the same freedom obtains to-day, I think I am warranted in saying that there is nothing in our principles to prevent us modifying or amending our present usages, should it be deemed expedient. In the first Scotch Confession (1560), it is pointed out in Article XX. that freedom and flexibility are desirable, that men's judgments are not infallible, and as human ideas may change, matters of human action may and ought to change likewise—that while "in the Church or in the house of God it becometh all things to be done decently and in order"; it is useless to pre-determine what every practice shall be in the future, or attempt to make appointments for all ages, times and places. Presbyterians do not recognize any cast iron forms and rules incompatible with reason and common sense, and they have from the first felt at liberty to institute change when cir-

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cumstances so demanded. The political forces which operated in the Mother country nearly two and a half centuries ago, are non-existent in this western continent in this age. The political conditions in Canada to-day are altogether different from those which prevailed in the United Kingdom, when extemporaneous prayer was substituted for written forms, and we are free to consider, indeed it is our duty to consider, the extent to which we should adhere to present usages, or how far it may be expedient to return to the views and practices of the founders and fathers of our Church.

The historical evidence goes to show that there is nothing to require a rigid adherence to one practice or the other. In the "Scotch Confession" of 1560 no particular mode of worship is laid down as binding. With the exception of the Lord's Prayer, given us as an example, there is little we find in Scripture to prescribe whether written or unwritten prayers should be used. We are left, therefore, to consider the merits of each system and ascertain on which side the weight of advantage preponderates.

Extempore prayer pure and simple, unless by a rarely gifted person inspired by the Holy Spirit, is apt to abound in crude unpremeditated thoughts and imperfect utterances. True, it can be said, that the minister in the quietness of his study may well consider the subject of the prayer to be offered, that he may revise his thoughts and give the intended prayer more earnest and deeper reflection, that he may even carefully arrange the solemn words with which he is to approach the Throne of Grace. If the minister so prepares himself, as he undoubtedly should, his prayer practically ceases to be extemporaneous, and from his place in the pulpit he recites the thoughts and words already rehearsed in private. But, the words remain unwritten; and would it not be far better that they should be reduced to writing and placed in the hands of every person in the congregation, in order that all might join the officiating minister in the common petition addressed to the Great Author of our being?

If we feel called upon to petition Parliament are we not extremely careful to have our wants expressed in well chosen words? If a Royal Prince, a Governor-General, or other high personage, comes amongst us, whom we wish to address,

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what course do we follow? Is it not customary, in anticipation of his presence, to induce a capable person, or a committee of persons, to draw up with care and deliberation the address in fitting terms? Is it not frequently the case that the text is amended, revised and re-amended so that it may accurately and properly express the views of those on whose behalf it is to be read? If we are so careful in thus arranging our words so that they shall not be wanting in order, propriety, respect, and even elegance, how much more needful is it when a body of Christian people approach the infinite Deity—the King of Kings—that they should present their deepest thoughts in words fitly chosen, and not leave all to the impulse of the moment as if speaking to frail and imperfect creatures like ourselves? Is it not above all thiugs seemly that in addressing our Heavenly Father our speech should be well ordered and give expression to our most reverential adoration, and penitential emotions.

There is another point of great importance. According to the usage of our Church the officiating minister addresses the Deity in words which up to the moment they are uttered are unknown to any single occupant of the pews. The sentiments spoken may be unexceptionable, they may be devout, they may be appropriate and edifying, or they may be the very opposite; whatever their character, the people present are simply listeners, the words spoken from the pulpit cannot be called in any correct sense the prayer of the congregation. The congregation at best can only follow the minister in prayer as they attend to him when preaching, and it would be as correct to designate the sermon, the sermon of the congregation, as to consider the ordinary prayer from the pulpit, the prayer of the congregation.

In some city Churches, anthems by the choir and sacred solos are attempted; these performances may be the most renowned musical compositions, they may be most pleasing to the musical ear, they may be edifying to all present, but they cannot be considered the praises of the congregation, especially if the words of the sacred song are withheld from the congregation until they are sung.

So good an authority as Paley, in his treatise on "Duties towards God," discusses the subject of public prayer. He says

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"it (a written form of prayer) prevents the confusion of extempore prayer, in which the congregation, being ignorant of each petition before they hear it, and having little or no time to join in it after they have heard it, are confounded between their attention to the minister and to their own devotion. The devotion of the hearer is necessarily suspended until a petition be concluded; and before he can assent to it, or properly adopt it, that is, before he can address the same request to God for himself, and from himself, his attention is called off to keep pace with what succeeds. Add to this, that the mind of the hearer is held in continual expectation, and detained from its proper business, by the very novelty with which it is gratified. A congregation may be pleased and affected with the prayers and devotion of their minister without joining in them, in like manner as an audience often times are with the representations of devotion upon the stage, who, nevertheless come away without being conscious of having exercised any act of devotion themselves. *Joint* prayer, which amongst all denominations of Christians is the declared design of "coming together," is prayer in which all *join;* and not that which one alone in the congregation conceives and delivers, and of which the rest are merely hearers. This objection seems fundamental, and holds even where the minister's office is discharged with every possible advantage and accomplishment. The labouring recollection and embarrassed or tumultuous delivery, of many extempore speakers, form an additional objection to this mode of public worship; for these imperfections are very general and give great pain to the serious part of a congregation."

Dr. Isaac Watts who lived half a century after the old presbyterian liturgy, fell into disuse and who disapproved of a liturgical service, strongly recommended, whenever possible, extemporaneous prayer. In his "Guide to Prayer" he advised all "to cultivate the holy skill of speaking to God". The Gift of prayer he said "is one of the noblest and most useful in the Christian life and therefore to be sought with earnest desire and diligence". But this venerable theologian concedes that forms of prayer may be useful and in some cases necessary when ministers are unable to attain in a high degree the Divine Gift.

It is claimed by some that the principal end of extempore

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prayer is to move the hearts of the congregation and that this is a purpose which no written forms however admirably composed can successfully accomplish. Granting all that can be said in this regard when some rarely gifted man gives expression in prayer to his devotional thoughts, it will readily be conceded that many of our most worthy ministers are not so gifted and it would be more desirable for them to use good written forms than to speak extemporaneously in an imperfect manner.

If we turn to another branch of public worship—the service of praise—we find a recognition of set-forms of words. Joint prayer is prayer in which all join—and so it is with praise, and from the earliest days, means have been taken to admit of all joining in the common service of praise. The psalms and paraphrases were put in verse, and in the time of our forefathers the minister "read the line," as it was termed, in order that every individual in the congregation, learned or unlearned, with or without the printed verses, might join in the sacred song. The advance of education and of printing has simplified the service of praise and rendered "reading the line" unnecessary. The verses to be sung are in the hands of all, and so the whole assembled people may thus "with understanding" join in congregational praise.

The Apostle Paul places the two acts of worship—prayer and praise—on the same plane "I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also; I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also." If we have set forms of sacred verse in psalms, paraphrases and hymns, why should we not have set forms of prayer? It would seem to be a calm common sense conclusion that a book of prayers is required for the public worship of God in the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

During a long residence, almost half a century, in my adopted country, with opportunities of attending public worship under all conditions, in all parts of the Dominion, the opinion has been forced upon me that we should have a book of prayers, and that each prayer should be known by some distinctive name or number so that the minister could readily intimate to the congregation the prayer to be used. In arranging the service for the day the minister would select such prayers as appear to him appropriate for the

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occasion, and he would make known his selections to the congregation precisely as he now indicates the psalms and hymns to be sung, and the chapter and verses of the Scripture to be read. By no means do I advocate that a written liturgy should be used to the exclusion of extempore prayer. There should be no such restriction. The written forms should be used at the discretion of the minister and he should be at liberty to substitute or introduce during the service, whenever it seemed to him desirable, special prayers for special occasions.

I am unable to see any well founded objection to the mode of distinguishing the prayers by numbers. The method would undoubtedly have the advantage of simplicity, and it would enable each person present without doubt or confusion to know the prayer to be followed. In some churches the hymns to be sung are made known to the congregation by a tablet placed on the wall, on which the numbers of the hymns are set forth. This is a plan which might with advantage become general, and the information given on the tablet could be extended so as to comprise the whole service which the minister has arranged for the day. If, for example, a tablet containing such information as follows, were placed in full view of the congregation, each individual would be enabled to follow with ease, either audibly or inaudibly, every portion of the service in which he is expected to take part; the minister introducing, as circumstances may require, extempore prayer, notices to the congregation and other matters.

MORNING SERVICE.

Opening Prayer.....No.....
Hymn .....No.....

SCRIPTURE READING.

Psalm .....No .....
Prayer before Sermon.....No.....

SERMON.

Prayer after Sermon.....No.....
Hymn .....No.....

BENEDICTION.

Our hymns of praise are culled from every source and from every age. We have striven to collect in our books of

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praise the best hymns which can be found. Should we not follow a similar course with respect to prayers? In my mind, the Book of Prayers for our Church should be a collection of solemn appeals to our Heavenly Father, expressive of our every want and pure desire. In it should be gathered the most suitable prayers of all liturgies, the prayers of devout men of all ages adapted to our worship, to which would be added the most appropriate prayers of modern Presbyterian divines, to make the collection complete.

The preceding observations have had reference to public worship in organized congregations with a minister. I may point out that a book of prayers is perhaps even more required in places where there are no settled ministers. There are many Presbyterians scattered throughout the vast regions in the North West and other outlying parts of the Dominion, remote from the services to which they have been accustomed, and who are apt for want of such aid to devotion to become estranged from the church of their fathers. There are fields unoccupied by missionaries, and there are mission stations which at times are vacant. In such places well disposed men are frequently found who, however willing the heart, are not gifted with ready utterance to lead others in Divine service. To such men in such places written prayers would be a needful help; to the small groups of people it would be an acceptable boon, and would enable them to carry out what otherwise would be neglected. It will be obvious that in all such circumstances a book of prayers, placed in the hands of a lay-reader, with instructions for its proper use, would greatly aid in maintaining social worship until the appointment of a missionary, or until the settlement increased sufficiently to admit of the regular services of a minister being obtained.

In concluding these remarks on a subject of so much importance, I appeal to the reverend and learned men whom I address, earnestly to consider the expediency of introducing some change in the service of prayer in public worship. In Canada we Presbyterians are happily placed in circumstances the very opposite of what prevailed in the 17th century in the fatherland of many of us. There is nothing to becloud our views or to influence our passions one way or the other. The prejudices which affected our

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forefathers, and indeed at an earlier day some of ourselves, have mostly passed away; in Canada they have no proper place, and we are free to take the course which appears to us in this new generation most expedient. While there are men in our Church who can address God with a flow of divine eloquence to move the hearts of all who hear them, it is not to be denied that some of our most worthy ministers are unable to exercise the gift of prayer impressively. In the latter case it is felt that a book of prayer would be helpful and profitable.

As a layman I invite the ministers of our Church to give their consideration to some means by which we may obtain in our congregations a nearer approach to congregational prayer than we now possess. I ask that the men and women who gather together for Divine service in Presbyterian public assemblies be permitted to take part in the public worship of God, to a greater extent than at present.

On behalf of the pew, I make bold to raise my humble voice to the pulpit, in the earnest hope that I have not in vain called its attention to the subject.

SANDFORD FLEMING.

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AN OLD CONVEYANCE.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF CANADA.

WE place before you an old deed; it is only some thirty-six inches long by some thirty broad, and yet this piece of parchment bridges the chasm that exists between the last quarter of the XVII. century and the first of the XIX. It stretches from the days when "the merrie monarch" of England, the Second Charles, flirted with Nell Gwyn, Barbara Villiers and Lucy Walters, to the time when George IV. deserted and persecuted his poor wife; it unites the period when France claimed more than half the continent, when the Iroquois were the real lords of the forest, when England had a few settlements on the Atlantic border, with that in which Britain has won what France then owned, has lost what she then possessed, and the nobility of the Redman lives but in memory and romance.

This deed is a patent from George IV to the Honorable Charles Wm. Grant, of Montreal; it is dated the 15th of July, 1823; it conveys to the gentleman just named one half of five-sevenths of Wolfe or Grand Island, with all the isles and islets thereto adjacent. On the same day, by a similar patent, the other half was granted to James Leslie and his wife Julia, Archibald Kennedy Johnson and Maria, his wife, and Miss Charlotte Langan. This deed begins by telling us that a few days prior to its date the worthy folk just mentioned had executed to his Majesty a surrender of the whole Island; and this surrender (we are told) recited that his late Majesty, Louis XIV., King of France and Navarre, had, among other things, given the said island to Robert Cavallier, Sieur de la Salle, his heirs, successors and assigns; of how La Salle had sold it and how it had passed in the lapse of years from one to another until at the beginning of this century one-half was vested in Charles W. Grant and the other in the three ladies named, as coheiresses of Patrick Langan; it also stated that the conditions on which the lands were originally granted, not having been fulfilled, the owners were liable to have their possessions forfeited, and that the tenure under which they

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held, *i.e.*, on payment of seigniorial dues, rights and homage according to the custom of Paris, was repugnant to the ideas and feelings of people in Upper Canada. For these reasons the nominal owners willingly gave up all their rights in the whole island to George IV., upon the understanding that his Majesty would graciously keep two-sevenths of it in lieu of his seigniorial rights and dues and grant them the remaining five-sevenths in free and common socage. King George for once kept his word, and by the deed produced, and the other one referred to, gave to the parties named five-sevenths of Wolfe Island in free and common socage.

Now this is our text. Let us enlarge upon it. Firstly, as to the persons mentioned thereon. Such well known and common folk as George IV. and Louis XIV. we need not waste time over—there was little great or grand about either of these men, save his name; our real hero is La Salle, who was indeed cast in the mould in which Nature forms the Immortals of this world.

La Salle was born in 1643, at Rouen, of an old and wealthy family. His early training was under the Jesuits, and he left their schools with a reputation for excellent acquirements and unimpeachable morals. The cravings of a deep ambition, the hunger of an insatiable intellect, the intense longing for action and achievement, subdued in him all other passions. The old world seemed too narrow a stage on which to play the part he longed to act, so in 1666 he came to Canada. He acquired a large tract of land near Lachine and settled there. Tales of the wonders of the boundless West soon fell upon his eagerly listening ears and quickly fired his imagination. The restlessness of the new world fell upon him, and we find him in 1669 with a few chosen comrades passing within sound of the mighty roar of Niagara; onwards he wandered through virgin forests and up unknown streams until he came to the Ohio River, down its swift current he paddled to the rapids, where now is Louisville; after this for a time his movements are veiled in mystery, but apparently he was driving with unwearying stroke his birch bark canoe up the broad waters of Lake Huron, down those of Michigan, and then along the quiet stream of the Illinois River. He seems to have just missed the honor of discovering that great Father of Rivers—the mighty Mississippi.

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In 1673 Count Frontenac, the Governor of New France, became impressed with the idea that much would be gained by the establishment of a fortified trading post at the foot of Lake Ontario, so as to intercept the lucrative Indian trade that was so very apt to find its way to the English and Dutch on the banks of the Hudson. Being in Quebec, the Governor despatched La Salle, at the opening of navigation, to visit the country of the Iroquois, and induce those high and mighty warriors—who happened just then to be at peace with the Frence and their allies—to meet him at the mission of the Seminary priests, called Kente, on the north shore of the Lake.* Ere leaving, La Salle sent the Governor a map which convinced him that the best site for the proposed fort was the mouth of the Katarakoui—some 20 leagues before Kente—so the mouth of the River Katarakoui was settled upon as the place of rendezvous. Frontenac and his flotilla reached Cataraqui on the 12th day of July, 1673, and the anniversary of that day is still highly honored by many in this locality. By the way, we may mention in passing that as with spelling the name of Shakespeare so with that of the old name of Kingston, one can scarcely make a mistake; besides those we have already used, the authorities give us some twenty other forms—Cahiaque, Cadaroque, Cataracoui, Cataracouy, Cataraky, Catarakouy, Cataraky, Cataraque, Cataracto, Catarocoui, Cadaraque, Catarachqui, Kadaraghke, Kadaraghkie, Kodakagkie, Catarockque, Cadaacocrochque, Catarocoui, Cuadaraghque, Crediroqua. The spelling need not be monotonous.

We know not when La Salle first saw our beautiful bay and its protecting islands, but doubtless he was here when his chieftain arrived to attend the first great international peace convention ever held in Canada, and which he himself had been highly instrumental in assembling. A word or or two as to the place of this gathering as described by the Count himself. (We quote from the Paris Documents, vol. IX. of the Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York). Our bay is called "one of the most beautiful and agreeable harbors in the world, capable of holding a hundred of the largest ships, with a mud bottom, and so sheltered from every wind that a cable is scarcely necessary for mooring. At the head of the bay is a prairie more

*This name is still preserved in that of the Bay of Quinte. (Paris Documents, p. 91.

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than a league in extent, as handsome and level as any in France." Verily, with reason, the French leader thought as he looked about him on the fair prospect—fairer now than then—God had blessed his enterprise in leading him thither.

As we read of the proceedings of those days at Cataraqui, we are reminded of the political pic-nics of the present unheroic times. On the 13th the Onondagas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas each presented an address of welcome to the French Governor, who was seeking their support and influence for his party, and each orator in turn handed to him an engrossment of the address done in wampum beads and belts. Then Frontenac gave the chiefs "taffy" in abundance, and also six fathoms of tobacco, some brandy, wine and biscuits, and to the women some prunes and raisins. During the next three days the Governor was busy pushing on the erection of the fort, and meanwhile—like a regular political campaigner of modern type—he kissed all the babies he saw, and fed them with sweets, and had evening dances on the green sward for the dusky maids and matrons. Doubtless La Salle bore himself bravely through these festivities. In one speech Frontenac promised Indians that for the future they would find at Cataraqui "all sorts of refreshments and commodities" furnished at the cheapest possible rates. His speeches were not as too many since delivered here have been—words, words, nothing but words—but every now and then they were punctuated and emphasized by gifts to the listening Redmen of guns, powder, lead and flints, overcoats, shirts, stockings and beads.

The news of the discovery of the Mississippi by Marquette and Joliet made La Salle resolve to attempt still greater things in the West. He saw how admirably Fort Frontenac was suited to serve as a base for operations in that direction; the Governor had reported to the King, and all men believed "that a person could go from Fort Frontenac to the Gulf of Mexico, there being only one carrying place, half a league in length, where Lake Ontario communicates with Lake Erie."

La Salle went to France, in 1873, and petitioned the King for a grant of Fort Frontenac; his proposals were favorably entertained, and on the 13th day of May, 1675, Louis XIV conferred upon him the seigniory of Fort Frontenac and the parts adjacent

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by an instrument, of which the following is a translation :

COMPEIGNE, 13th May, 1675.

" The King having caused to be examined, in his Council, the proposals made by Robert Cavalier, Sr., De la Salle, setting forth that if it should please His Majesty to grant him, his heirs, successors and assigns, the fort called Frontenac, situate in New France, with four leagues of adjacent county, the Islands named Ganounkouesnot and Kaouenesgo, and the adjoining islets, with the right of hunting and fishing on said lands and in the lake called Ontario, or Frontenac, and circumjacent rivers, the whole by title of Fief, Seignory, and Justice (appeals from the Judges of which will be to the Lieutenant-General of Quebec) and the Government of said Fort Frontenac, and letters of noblesse, he would cause considerable property he possesses in this kingdom to be transported to the said country of New France for the erection and establishment there of settlements, which may, in the lapse of time, contribute greatly to the augmentation of colonies in said country. Said De la Salle offers to reimburse the sum of ten thousand livres, the amount expended for the construction of said Fort Frontenac ; to keep in good order the said fort, and the garrison necessary for the defence thereof, which cannot be less than that of Montreal ; to maintain twenty men during nine years for clearing the land which shall be conceded to him ; and until he shall have a Church built, to keep a priest or friar to perform Divine service and administer the sacraments ; which expenses, etc., the said De la Salle will defray at his sole cost and charges, until there be established above the Long Sault, called Garonouoy, some individuals with similar grants to that he demands, in which case those who will have obtained said grants shall be bound to contribute to the said expenses in proportion to the lands which will be granted to them ; and having heard the report of Sieur Colbert, Counsellor of the King in his Royal Council, and Comptroller-General of Finances, His Majesty in Council has accepted and does accept the said De la Salle's offers, hath in consequence granted to him the property of the said fort called Frontenac, and four leagues of adjacent country, computing at two thousand toises each league, along the lakes and rivers above and below said fort, and half a league, or one thousand toises, inland ; the

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islands named Ganounkouesnot and Kaouenesgo and the adjacent islands, with the right of hunting and fishing on said Lake Ontario and circumjacent rivers. The whole by title of Fief, and in full Seigniory and Justice; on condition that he cause to be conveyed immediately to Canada all the effects he possesses in this kingdom, which cannot be less that the sum of 10,000 livres in money or movables; that he produce a certificate from Count de Frontenac, His Majesty's Lieutenant-General in said Country; reimburse the sum of 10,000 livres expended in the construction of the said fort; put and maintain it in a good state of defence; pay and support the garrison necessary to defend it, which is to be at least equal to that of Montreal; likewise maintain twenty men during two years to clear the land, who shall not be otherwise employed during that time; cause a church to be erected within the first six years of his grant, and meanwhile to support a priest or friar for the administration of the sacraments; also induce the Indians to repair thither, give them settlements, and form villages there in society with the French, to whom he shall give part of said land to be cleared, all which shall be cleared and improved within the time and space of twenty years, to be computed from the next (1676), otherwise His Majesty shall be at liberty, at the expiration of the said time, to dispose of the lands which shall not be cleared or improved. His Majesty wills that appeals from the judges (to be appointed by the said De la Salle within the limits of the said country conceded by His Majesty) be to the Lieutenant-General of Quebec; and to that end His Majesty wills that all donatory and concessionary letters hereunto necessary, be issued to the said De la Salle, together with those for the Government of said Fort Frontenac, and letters of noblesse for him and his posterity."

La Salle returned from France proprietor of a seigniory, which—all things considered—was one of the most valuable in the colony. So Parkman says. With him came Francis de la Foret as his lieutenant. La Salle set vigorously to work to improve his lonely little empire and fulfil the conditions on which he held it. Within two years of the date of his grant, the palisaded fort of Frontenac was replaced by one of hewn stone, of which, however, only two bastions with their connecting curtains were completed, (the enclosure on the water side being formed of

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pickets); the stone wall was 93 toise, or 555 feet in length, three feet thick and fifteen high. Within the fort were a barrack, a well, a bakery, very fine barns and stables. Near the shore, to the south, was a cluster of small houses of French inhabitants; hard by, an Indian village. Half a score or more of soldiers, with two officers and a surgeon, formed the garrison; while in addition 30 or 40 masons, laborers and canoe-men lived in the fort. Two Recollet friars—Luc Berisset and Louis Hennepin, looked after the spiritual welfare of the community. For these the Seignior built a house outside the walls, and part of this they turned into a chapel. One of these men, Hennepin, shortly afterwards made for himself a name and a reputation, by his discoveries and wondrous travellers' tales.

Soon La Salle had vessels built which navigated every part of the lake, kept the Iroquois in check, deprived the English (without violence) of a part of their trade, and closed the passage to deserters from the French settlements.

The land was granted, as we have seen, to La Salle, "by title of Fief and in full seigniory and justice." He was the Seignior. What were his rights, what his privileges and duties as such? A glance at these will teach us something of the feudalism which Louis XIV imposed upon Canada. At that time the system existed in France with its teeth drawn, and many of the abuses still lingering there were lost in the passage of the Atlantic. Parkman says that Canadian feudalism was made to serve a double purpose—to produce a faint and harmless reflection of French aristocracy—and simply and practically to supply agencies for distributing land among the settlers. Both of these ends Louis had in view when he made his grant to La Salle, he gave him letters of noblesse for himself and his children, and bound him to keep men to clear the land and then to parcel out a part of it among them.

The seignior was the immediate vassal of the Crown; when he received his land he had to do homage for it, either to the king or his representative: and this had to be done to make a good title whenever the land passed to a new proprietor; without sword or spur, with bared head and one knee on the ground the new seignior knelt to his suzerain or his representative. From time to time the seignior had to report to the king the state of of his seigniory (*aveu et denombrements*). Some of the other

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duties expected of La Salle, as to settlement, buildings and clearings, we have already seen, and doubtless other seigniors were similarly bound.

King Charles II., of England, was far more liberal than his brother of France in his gifts of wild lands; he gave the whole of the Empire State of New York to the Duke of York, subject only to the payment of 40 beaver skins whenever they should be demanded, or within ninety days thereafter; and he granted to "the Company of Adventurers trading with Hudson's Bay," well nigh half a continent, upon condition that they should yearly pay to the sovereign two elks and two black beavers, whenever he should happen to be in their domain.

The condition of cleaning the land within a certain period, under pain of forfeiture, was a distinctive feature of Canadian feudalism, It was a hard stipulation upon a penniless noblesse, who could not dig, who could not sell, and who therefore had to rent for a trivial return. It was a condition, too, frequently enenforced. Whenever a seigniory changed hands, through sale or gift, the new seignior had to pay one-fifth of its value to the crown, by way of fine. (*Quint.*) This pretty well prevented all speculative dealings in real estate. Fortunately, a reduction of about one-third was generally made for cash. If on the death of a proprietor the land went to the direct heir, no fine was payable; if, however, it passed to a collateral heir, one year's revenue was demanded.

The Seigniors had judicial powers (*haute, moyenne et basse justice*); theoretically they could try within their own courts, all felonies and high and petty misdemeanors. We fancy, however, the Canadian seignior, like the English squire, generally confined his attention to very small matters, as he seldom built a prison on his seigniory. A few had special powers, and erected permanent gibbets and pillories, and on these erections the armorial bearings of the seignior were emblazoned. La Salle was not burdened with these high privileges, so no gaunt, grim gibbet stretched out its shining arm over our fair waters; but he had, in common with many others of his class, the right to appoint judges within his country. These had power to entertain accusations of every kind, except high treason, coining base money, carrying arms without a license, unlawful assemblies and assassinations. We incline to

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believe that these justiceships were not very much sought after, as their possessors were not permitted to receive any salary or emoluments except what the seignior chose to pay them, and such impecunious lords of the manor as La Salle were not apt to spend much money for the purpose of bringing law and justice to their tenants doors. Appeals lay from these seigniorial courts to the Lieutenant-General and his court at Quebec. The king himself generally nominated the Prevost—or Lieutenant-General.

La Salle could not sell any of his land until he had cleared it; so to obtatin any return he had to rent it to some one who could, and would, clear and till, and in exchange pay rent in money or produce; the produce being chiefly eggs, chickens and wheat. This tenure was called *en censive*, and the tenant the *censetaire*. What land rented for per acre in those old days in these parts we cannot say—but in other places in Canada Parkman says it was "almost ludicrously small"; it was usually two sous per arpent, (or acre), one being for the annual recognition of the tenure (*cens*), the other being deemed the annual value (*rentes*). If the payment was to be in wheat, that cereal was valued at two sous per quart, it being worth about forty sous per bushel. Sometimes the rent was but half we have named, For the credit of our native land we would say that Parkman's expression, "almost ludicrously small," was even more applicable to lands in the then British colonies—now the United States. In Virginia, in Maryland, in Pennsylvania, in Carolina, oftentimes one shilling was the total rental of 50 acres; the Dutch farmers paid the patroons of New Netherlands for a farm some five pounds of butter or a couple of loads of wood. In one case, in South Carolina, a single ear of of Indian corn each year paid the rent of 3000 acres of land.

But if La Salle rented out his lands like others of his class—like them he had perquisites besides his rent. The tenant had to grind his grain at the seignior's mill, and the latter took one bushel in every fourteen for his pay; if the tenant disliked the seignior's mill and went elsewhere with his grist, he still had to pay the seignior. (This was called *banalité*). The tenant had to take his bread to his seignior's oven to be baked—what toll was taken for this, we regret we cannot say. There was a mill and there was an oven at Fort Frontenac. The tenant had to do one or more days work for his seignior each year, (this was called

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corvee), and he had to give him one fish in every eleven caught in the waters near by the farm. Then again, if the *censetaire* sold his holding, the seignior received one-twelfth of the purchase money, from the buyer, by way of a fine (*lods et ventes*); if, however, the *censetaire* passed over to the majority, his heirs took the land without any payment. The seignior had a right to take stone and wood for the repair of the manor house from the tenant's land; some even claimed the right to take for the repair of churches, parsonages and mills as well, paying nothing therefor, and to take oaks for vessels and mills, and pine for masts, without compensation. If a seignior thought his tenant had sold his land below its value so as to defraud him of his just rent, he had a right to take it himself at that figure (*droit de retraite*). These were some of the burdens which made the seigniorial tenure, by which Wolfe Island was held, "repugnant to the ideas and feelings of the people" of Upper Canada, and made Charles Wm. Grant and the others ready to give up their old title and take a new one.

La Salle was not made to be a mere merchant or farmer. From his fort he wandered off on voyages towards the setting sun, leaving his friend and vassal, the Sieur de la Foret, in charge. Frontenac ceased to be governor—M. de La Barre ruled in his stead. While La Salle was voyaging on the Mississippi and winning boundless regions for the king of France, the governor was compassing his ruin; and at last, pretending that the seigniory was forfeited because a sufficient garrison was not maintained, he sent some of his myrmidoms who seized the fort and that therein was, ejected La Foret, turned the cattle into the fields of grain, sold the stores, devoured the provisions and left "the fort exposed to the insults of the Iroquois, without any other defence than that of a kitchen boy and another person to take care of the cattle." The faithful La Foret was a man of action, he hurried to France, interceded with the King, and soon returned with orders to Le Barre to give back the fort and to do nothing adverse to the interest of La Salle—a man whom I (wrote Louis) "take under my particular protection."

In November, 1685, La Salle, by an instrument under the hand seal of La Foret, his attorney, duly authorized for that purpose, confirmed a grant for the island now called Wolfe, with its

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appurtenances, to James Cauchois, upon the terms and conditions mentioned in the original grant from Louis XIV. Probably this is the first conveyance of any part of what is now known as Ontario from one subject to another. With the appurtenances of Wolfe Island doubtless went that fertile tract called Simcoe Island; this was formerly known and is marked on the map attached to the deed under discussion as "Ile aux Forets," but without doubt its correct name was Ile de la Foret, after this faithful attorney; it would hardly be appropriate to call an island "the Isle of Forests," when the forest primeval was all around. When this deed was signed, and Cauchois became the owner of the 30,000 acres conveyed, poor La Salle was wandering with a few comrades, ragged and forlorn, among the swamps hard by the Mexican Gulf, far to the west of the object of his earnest quest, the mouth of the Mississippi. The year before he had sailed from France with an ill-assorted, ill-starred company, to establish a fort and found a colony where the Father of Rivers pours its mighty torrent into the ocean, so that he might gain for France all the trade of the boundless regions drained by that river and its tributaries. From that fatal expedition our hero never returned —he fell a victim to a traitor's bullet, and his body, with mockery and insult, was left naked and bloody, the prey of foul birds and ravenous beasts, beside the waters of a lonely river in the far away regions of Texas.

In summing up the character of this man, Parkman says: "It is easy to reckon up his defects, but it is not easy to hide from sight the Roman virtues that redeem them. Beset by a throng of enemies, he stands—like the King of Israel—head and shoulders over them all. He was a tower of adamant, against whose impregnable front hardship and danger, the rage of man and of the elements, the southern sun, the northern blast, fatigue, famine, delay, disappointment and deferred hope, emptied their quivers in vain. That very pride, which Coriolanus-like, declared itself most sternly in the thickest press of foes, has in it something to challenge admiration. Never under the impenetrable mail of paladin or crusader, beat a heart of more intrepid mettle, than within the stoic panoply that armed the breast of La Salle."

In course of time Cauchois died and without a will, leaving his daughter, the fair Mary Madelaine, his heiress; she married

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a man unknown to fame—one Curotte he is called and nothing more. At last Mary Madelaine died also, and the island passed to her heir-at-law, her eldest son, James Francois Curotte. He cared not for the things of this world, but entered the holy priesthood and became Curè of the Parish of St. Peter, Riviere-du-Sud; in March, 1784, he conveyed all his right, title and interest in these maternal acres to his half brothers, Amable and Michael Curotte.

About the beginning of this century the Curottes, Amable and Michael, sold all their rights in the Island to David Alexander Grant and Patrick Langan; and these names introduce to us two families known far and wide in the struggles between France and England for the possession of this continent. Through David Alex. Grant we come upon a family in which were heroes fighting under the *fleur-de-lis*, and which Parkman calls the most truly eminent in Canada. He was a Captain in the 94th Foot, and in 1781 married Marie Charles Josephe Le Moyne de Longueil, Baroness de Longueil, only daughter of the third Baron of that illustrious name. The Captain died intestate in March, 1806, leaving as his eldest son and heir-at-law the Hon. Charles Wm. Grant, in our patent named and who became, on the death of his mother, the fourth Baron de Longueil, and his daughter until her death a few weeks ago still owned a considerable portion of the Island. A word or two concerning these de Longueils, so well known in history and romance. The first baron, Charles Le Moyne, was the second Seignior of Longueil; in the first year of the eighteenth century Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, considering it his duty to reward those whose courage and merit led them to perform great deeds, and taking into consideration the services which had been rendered to him by the said Charles Le Moyne and his father, "created, erected, raised and decorated the said estate and seigniory of Longueil with the name, title and dignity of a barony, to be peacefully and fully enjoyed by the said Sieur Charles Le Moyne, his children, heirs and descendants, together with the name, title and dignity of a baron" and the patent expressed the King's wish and pleasure that he should call himself by such title. The first baron had eleven sons and two daughters; the sons were all mighty men—men of renown. The eld-

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est, Charles, the second baron, fell in action at Saratoga; the second son, Jacques, was killed at the siege of Quebec; Pierre le Moyne d' Iberville, the third son, with his brothers St. Helene and Maricourt, won fame in the expedition that in early spring marched from Quebec against the English in Hudson's Bay (an expedition well described in "The Trail of the Sword," by that rising Canadian novelist, Gilbert Parker); afterwards he gained the Cross of St. Louis fighting in Acadia—he was the first white man to do what poor La Salle died in attempting—enter the Mississippi from the sea. The tenth son, Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, was with his brother d'Iberville in his voyaging to the Mississippi. He was one of the founders of New Orleans and the first Governor of Louisiana. The other sons fought and bled and died for the lilies in divers positions and different climes. The portrait of Bienville still graces the walls of Alwington,* where for a time dwelt the fifth and the present baron. The third baron was at one time governor of Canada; he led against the British at Monongahela, and died beneath an Indian's tomahawk near Lake St. George. The distinction and title passed to whomsoever held the seigniory of Longueil, and as we have seen the daughter of the third baron carried it into the Grant family, and there it still is in the possession of the sixth baron.

Patrick Langan, who shared with Captain Grant in the purchase from the Curottes, was a gentleman from Limerick who served in the Commissariat and died and was buried here. He died in 1813, leaving, as our deed tells us, three daughters his co-heiresses, Julia, Maria and Charlotte. Julia married the Honorable James Leslie for many years a member of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada. Maria was the wife of Archibald Kennedy Johnson, who was a son of Sir John Johnson and grandson of Sir William Johnson, men well known as supporters of the British cause in the conflict between France and Britain, and in the graver struggle between England and her Colonies. Sir William, in 1757, at the head of colonial troops gained at Lake George the first victory for England in that war which was to separate Canada from France; afterwards he took

*The residence of J. A. Allen, Esq., near Kingston.

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Fort Niagara, defeating also an army of French and Indians sent to its relief; and in 1760 he led 1,000 Iroquois braves from Oswego to Montreal, and concluded his military career with honour at the surrender of Canada by France. He lived in his latter days at Johnstown on the Mohawk River. Here, too, dwelt his son, afterwards Sir John, and his sons-in-law, possessing large estates and occupying splendid residences until their espousal of the British side against the Americans caused their property to vanish in a moment. In many a way Sir John was a thorn in the side of his enemies; he stirred up the feelings of the Six Nations and secured their hearty and vigorous, though somewhat blood-thirsty, co-operation against the Americans. He himself contended with the Colonists on many a well-fought field during those dark, sad days ere the independence of the United States was recognised. He held the rank of Colonel in the British army and was knighted by a grateful sovereign. According to Bancroft the colors of the Royal Yorkers, his regiment, lost in the skirmish with Herkimer and displayed from the walls of the rescued Fort Stanwix, were the first captured banners that had ever "floated under the Stars and Stripes of the young Republic."

On many another point in our text might we dilate on the reservations contained therein for the Crown and of the lands designated for the use of the Protestant clergy—of the condition that Grant must build a house on the lands granted,—if he had not one already in the Province—on the necessity of any future owner taking the oath of allegiance. But our time has failed, and patience also.

R. VASHON ROGERS.

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DANTE AND MEDIEVAL THOUGHT.

II.—THE THEOLOGY OF DANTE CONTINUED.

WE have seen how Dante, finding in all finite beings traces of the divine workmanship, yet regards man as in a peculiar sense made in the image of God. Following Aristotle, as interpreted by Aquinas, he maintains that while man is a being composed of soul and body, he differs from all other beings in the possession of reason. In virtue of this faculty he can make the essence or form of things an object of thought, and thus he is enabled, ascending from lower to higher phases of knowledge, at last to reach a certain knowledge of God. With the faculty of reason is connected the power of free volition, the greatest gift of God to man, and that which makes him most like God. The first man was directly created by God in immortality, holiness and righteousness, but in his pride or self-will he disobeyed the command of God, and involved in his fall the whole of his posterity, whose representative he was.

It is significant that, while Dante accepts the Augustinian doctrine of original sin, he does not hold that the fall of Adam has destroyed the desire for goodness or the freedom of the human will. According to Augustine the human race has been so corrupted by the fall that it cannot do otherwise than sin (*non posse non peecare*), whereas Dante maintains that man has a natural desire for truth and goodness, and falls into error and sin only because he is led astray by "some vestige of that, ill recognized, which shines through them." Freedom of will, again, which seems to him the indispensable condition of moral responsibility, he seeks to justify by the Aristotelian conception of the rational soul as a "substantial form, independent of matter and yet united to it." By a "substantial form" is meant an independent reality, containing within itself a store of energy, which it exhibits in its effects. Like God and the angels, man is self-active, though unlike them he is united to a body which is the instrument of the soul. Because of this union there are certain primitive desires which do

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not proceed from the man himself, but, when he becomes conscious of them, the free inherent energy of his own nature enables him to choose between them. Hence arises his moral responsibility for the evil which he does.

In this modification of the Augustinian doctrine Dante shows the influence of the free spirit of the Germanic peoples, and of that conception of a rational human life which was due partly to the influence of Aristotle. But this is not the full explanation of the change; for, in recognizing the freedom of man, with its corollaries of moral responsibility and sin, Dante is the exponent of ideas which are inseparable from the Christian idea of life. It was Christianity that first brought to light the infinite importance of the individual soul. In the pantheistic religions of the East the higher life is conceived to consist, not in the active realization of the true self, but in the annihilation of will. The natural man is under the illusion that his own personal fate is of supreme importance, and the first step in the higher life is to get rid of this illusion. Blessedness is to be found only in liberation from all personal desires. The Greek conception of life, again, fails to recognize the importance of individual freedom for another reason. In the objective institutions of society man finds his true good, and so long as the state is secure the life of the individual is in itself of no importance. This is the doctrine to which Plato has given expression in his *Republic*, though no doubt we may see in his ideal state a virtual recognition of the inadequacy of the Greek conception. Christianity, on the other hand, affirms the supreme importance of the individual and his responsibility for his own acts. In this sense we may say that prior to Christianity there was no clear consciousness of sin as the act of the individual. Of this consciousness Dante is one of the most powerful exponents. His whole conception of life is dominated by it, and his pictures of the future life, as he tells us himself, are at the same time a presentation of the spiritual condition of man in this life, as by the good or ill use of his freedom he becomes worthy of reward or punishment.

There is, however, another side to Dante's thought. While he recognizes the freedom and responsibility of the individual, he is also aware that the individual cannot be separated from the race; and hence he insists upon the doctrine of the Church, that

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evil came into the world by the original sin of Adam and has descended to all his posterity. Thus in the doctrine of the Fall he seemed to find the complement or correction of the truth that the individual is purely self-determined. It can hardly be said, however, that Dante gives us any reconciliation of these opposite aspects of truth: he rather sets them down side by side than attempts to reconcile them; nor indeed can they be reconciled without going beyond the external and mechanical form of the doctrine of original sin and grasping the essential truth which it contains.

The doctrine of original sin as held by Dante draws its support largely from an uncritical reading of the Pauline epistles, and especially of the classical passage in the epistle to the Romans, in which a contrast is drawn between Adam and Christ. That passage has been understood in a way that misses the central idea which the Apostle is seeking to enforce. In various parts of his writings St. Paul draws a distinction between the man who is dead in sin, the man who is conscious of sin, and the man who is delivered from sin. This distinction, in the epistle to the Romans, he applies on a large scale to the course of human history, mainly with the object of proving to his countrymen the necessity of the new revelation of the nature of God as manifested in Christ. In the opening chapters he shows, by an appeal to notorious facts, that the heathen world was sunk in wickedness, although it was self-condemned when tried even by its own imperfect standard of goodness. The source of this moral degradation he finds in a perverted conception of the divine nature. The necessity of a new principle to lift the heathen world out of its religious and moral degradation is, he argues, too plain to need elaboration. But can we say the same of the Jew? Practically the Jew assumes that, because in the Law he has a clear revelation of the divine nature, no further revelation is needed. He fails to observe that the possession of this law has not brought him into a right relation to God. In truth the Law was never meant to produce righteousness, but only to create a vivid consciousness of sin. This is manifest from Scripture itself, as where we read that "there is none righteous, no not one." The only way in which man can be brought into a right relation to God is by faith, as indeed is repeatedly affirmed in the Scriptures themselves.

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Having thus shown that all mankind, Jew as well as Gentile, are by nature sinful, that all are more or less clearly conscious of this guilt, and that only by faith can they come into communion with God, the Apostle divides the history of mankind into three great periods. The first period extends from Adam to Moses, the second from Moses to Christ, the third from Christ to the end of the world. In the first man was sinful but was not clearly conscious of his sinfulness. It may be objected that as the Moral Law had not yet been revealed there could be no transgression. But this objection the Apostle meets by pointing out that if there had been no sin, there would have been no death. In the second period there was the clearest consciousness of sin, because the Law had defined in plain terms wherein sin consisted. In the third period begins the supreme revelation of the infinite grace or love of God, and of faith as the only source of righteousness, or the right relation of man to God. The main idea, therefore, which the Apostle has in his mind is the natural sinfulness of the whole human race from the very beginning of its existence. It is in this connection that he is led to refer to Adam. He is not thinking of Adam as sinning for his posterity, but he is bent upon showing that the natural sinfulness of man has manifested itself in every one of his descendents. The idea of sin as externally transmitted from Adam to his posterity is entirely foreign to St. Paul's way of thinking: what he wishes to show is that all mankind are by nature in alienation from God, and can come into union with Him only by a new birth of the spirit. The coarse juridical notion of a punishment imposed upon the human race because of the sin of the first man is due to the false interpretation of minds familiar with Roman law, who did not distinguish between sin and crime. This conception, first formulated by Augustine, was naturally adopted by Aquinas, from whom Dante received it. It was subsequently made a central idea by Calvin, whose mind was in many respects akin to that of Augustine, and it survives even to the present day.

Dante's conception of salvation is the logical complement of his doctrine of original sin. There are two ways in which man might conceivably be liberated from sin: either God might pardon him out of pure mercy, or man might expiate his sin by a humility correspondent to its magnitude. The former conflicts

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with the justice of God, the latter is impossible because man could not undergo a humiliation proportionate to the self-assertion implied in disobedience to the will of God. Hence God offered up his Son in man's stead, thus reconciling infinite justice with infinite mercy. We shall in vain seek to comprehend the mystery of the Incarnation; yet divine illumination enables us to obtain a glimpse into it; for we can see that it was the work of the eternal Love, the Holy Spirit, and that, although there is in the "Word made flesh" a union of the divine and human, the two natures yet remain distinct.

This doctrine has the same fundamental defect as the mediæval conception of Original Sin. As in explaining the origin of the world God is conceived to be a divine Architect or an external Creator; as in accounting for the ascending scale of being He is conceived to be the Final Cause towards whom all things tend; so now He is regarded as a Judge before whom a criminal is brought receive sentence. A Judge has no power to tamper with the law: his function is simply to administer it; and hence God is conceived as bound by the immutable law that every offender must be punished in exact proportion to his offence. The sin of man, however, is infinite, because it consists in his seeking to equalize himself with God, and therefore the only adequate punishment is eternal death. On the other hand, God is not merely a Judge, but also a merciful Father, and therefore disposed to forgive the sinner from pure Mercy. But as this would conflict with his Justice, divine Wisdom conceived, and divine Love realized, the vicarious punishment of man in the person of the Son of God.

Now, it is impossible to state this highly artificial doctrine without seeing that it is the product of conflicting ideas which are not reconciled but simply set down side by side. The starting point is the conception of personal sin, one of the central ideas of Christianity. Dante, powerfully impressed, like all the thinkers of his day, with the conception of immutable law as the corner-stone of all social order, naturally enough identifies sin with crime, and therefore conceives of God as an inexorable Judge. But sin is not crime, nor can God be conceived as a Judge. Crime is the violation of the personal rights of another: it is an offence against the external order of the State, and must be expiated by an external punishment. Sin, on the other hand,

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is not the violation of the rights of others, but the desecration of the ideal nature of the sinner, the willing of himself as in his essence he is not. Hence sin requires no external punishment to bring it home to the sinner : it brings its own punishment with it in the destruction of the higher life, the realization of which is blessedness. In man, by virtue of the divine principle in him, the consciousness of God is bound up with the consciousness of himself, and he cannot do violence to the one without doing violence to the other. Hence God is not a Judge, allotting punishment according to an external law, but the perfectly holy Being, by reference to whom man condemns himself. No external punishment can transform the spiritual nature. The criminal, after undergoing punishment, may be more hardened in his crime than ever, and yet society must punish him, because its function is to preserve the social bond, which by his act the criminal has assailed. But religion has in view, not the preservation of social order, but the regeneration of the individual : it deals with the inner nature of the man, not with the result of his act upon society ; and hence, unless it transforms and spiritualizes him it fails entirely of its end. It is for this reason that the medieval Church in inflicting external puishment violated its very essence. All such punishment is contradictory of the very idea of religion, and therefore of the nature of God.

When Dante says that the sin of Adam consisted in pride, or the attempt to equalize himself with God, he strangely intermingles truth and falsehood. The truth implied in his view is, that in so far as man seeks to realize his true self in separation from God, *i.e.*, in willing his own good in isolation from the good of his fellow-men, he brings upon himself spiritual death. This idea, as we shall see, Dante grasped with marvellous clearness ; it is, indeed, the principle by the application of which he peoples his Inferno. But this truth is obscured by the vulgar notion that the sin of man was pride, or an attempt to equalize himself with God—a notion obviously based upon the conception of God as a Ruler whose majesty must be asserted. This pagan conception, drawn mainly from the idea of Cæsar, as the representative of order and law, is entirely foreign to the Christian idea of God. Even Plato sees that "in God there can be no envy." Dante himself virtually denies this utterly false conception of

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God, when he speaks of the Incarnation as proceeding from the infinite love of God. Here at last we come upon the only purely Christian idea in the whole doctrine. Stripped of its artificial form it affirms that the very nature of God is self-sacrifice: that, loving his creatures with an infinite love, He can realize His own blessedness only in them. This is the essential idea in the new way of salvation. Man can be saved only as he realizes in himself the spirit of Christ. In taking upon himself the burden of the race he lives a divine life. This is the secret which Christ revealed, and to have made this secret practically our own is to be justified by faith.

If there were the least doubt that Dante was a faithful son of the Catholic Church, the place which the Virgin Mary occupies in his theological creed would be enough to set it at rest. She pervades the whole of the Divine comedy with her benign influence. So great is Dante's reverence for her, that in the Inferno she is never mentioned by name. When the poet shrinks from the awful task of entering the spiritual world, he receives courage to undertake it by being told that "a noble Lady in Heaven" has such sympathy with his irresolution that she "breaks the stern judgment there on high." Mary is thus the representative of that divine mercy from which the whole work of salvation proceeds. In the Purgatory she appears as the compassionate helper of repentant souls. When Buonconte, flying wildly through the night from the battle of Campaldino, falls by the shore of the Archiano, he calls on the name of Mary, and his soul is snatched from the Evil One by an Angel of God. In the valley of the Princes, the souls who had delayed repentance, sit, singing *Salve Regina*, on the grass and flowers. On the second terrace the souls who are expiating the sin of envy, cry "Mary, pray for us!" In the fifth circle the souls lying prostrate, purging themselves of the sins of avarice and prodigality, cry "Sweet Mary" like a woman in travail, and recall how she was so poor that "in a hostelry she laid down her sacred burden." Her humility is shown in the picture of the Annunciation, sculptured on the rock of the first circle. "There was pictured she who turned the key to open the love of God." In a vision Dante sees her in the third circle as the embodiment of patience, "with the sweet gesture of a mother, saying: 'My son, why hast thou so dealt

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with us?' Behold thy father and I were seeking the sorrowing." The slothful recall how Mary "ran with haste into the hill-country." The intemperate remember that "Mary thought more how the marriage-feast should be honourable and complete than of her mouth, which now answers for you." The two Angels who guard the valley of the Princes from the evil serpent "came from the bosom of Mary." In heaven her praise is celebrated by all the Saints, who circle round her. When, at the close of his vision, Dante sees the white rose of Paradise, Mary is seated on high, "her face most resembling Christ." "I saw upon her," says the poet, "such gladness shower . . . . that all I had yet seen held me suspended in no such wonder, nor showed me such likeness of God. And that love which first descended thereon, singing *Ave Maria, gratia plena*, in front of her spread out his wings. To the divine song responded on all sides the holy choir, so that every face grew more serene." To paint her divine beauty is impossible; "had I as great power of speech as of imagination, I should not dare to attempt the least of her sweetness." St. Bernard addresses to her the following prayer, which is the very essence of supplication:

" O Virgin Mother, daughter of thy Son,
Lowlier and loftier than all creatures seen,
Goal of the counsels of the Eternal One,
Thyself art she who this our nature mean
Hast so ennobled that its Maker great
Designed to become what through it made had been.
In thy blest womb the Love renewed its heat
By whose warm glow in this our peace eterne
This heavenly flower first did germinate.
Here, in Love's noon-tide brightness, thou dost burn
For us in glory; and to mortal sight
Art living fount of hope to all that yearn.
Lady, thou art so great and of such might
That he who seeks grace yet turns not to thee,
Would have his prayer, all wingless, take its flight;
Nor only doth thy kind benignity
Give help to him who asks, but many a time
Doth it prevent the prayer in bounty free.
In thee is mercy, pity, yea sublime
Art thou in greatness, and in thee, with it,
Whate'er of good is in creation's clime.
He who stands here, who, from the lowest pit
Of all creation, to this point hath pass'd
The lines of Spirits, each in order fit,

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On thee for grace of strength himself doth cast,
So that he may his eyes in vision raise
Upwards to that salvation noblest, last."*

At the close of this prayer "the eyes beloved and reverenced of God, fixed on him who prayed, showed us how pleasing to her are devout prayers. They to the Eternal Light were then directed, into which we may not deem that by a creature the eye is able so clearly to penetrate." Mary is thus from first to last the mediator between man and God.

Nowhere is Dante more obviously the exponent of the medieval mind than in the reverence he shows for "the Virgin Mother, daughter of her Son." The position he assigns to her is a poetic rendering of a passage in St. Bonaventura's *Speculum Beatæ Virginis*. "This, I say, is Mary, who was most free from the Seven Capital Vices. For Mary against *pride* was most lowly through humility; against *envy* most affectionate through charity; agaist *anger* most meek through gentleness; against *unconcern* most unwearied through application; Mary against *avarice* was simple through poverty; Mary against *gluttony* was most temperate through sobriety; Mary against *luxury* was most chaste through virginity. All these things we learn from these Scriptures in which we find the name of Mary expressed." It is not hard to understand the depth of devotional reverence which gathered about the name of Mary, though it would be difficult to disentangle the complexity which contributed to it. She is the living symbol of that humility, charity, gentleness, alacrity in kindly offices, renunciation of wealth and charity, which is the medieval ideal of the womanly as distinguished from the manly type of character and which was embodied in the gentle unworldly life of the monastic Saint. Such an ideal exercised a purifying influence in an age when strong and ungovernable passion was only too prevalent. It sprang from the same root as the chivalrous devotion to women which expressed itself in the lays of the troubadour, but it was associated with the deeper religious consciousness which Christianity had introduced. In this aspect of it we can see how it came in to give vividness and reality to the abstractions of a dualistic theology. The separation of God from the world led to the idea of His incomprehensibility; the con-

*Paradise 33, 1 ff; Plumptre's translation.

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ception of Him as a stern Judge who inexorably punished sin plunged man in despair; and though this idea was partly transcended in the doctrine of the Incarnation, yet the self-sacrificing earthly life of Christ was so overshadowed by His transcendent heavenly life that its power to awaken love and imitation was almost gone. Thus the love of God, which in theory was affirmed, had lost its practical influence. The repentant sinner, touched with the keenness of remorse, did not feel that that love had any definite bearing on his own life. Thus Mary came to take the place which Christ occupied in the heart of the Christian of an early age. Her soft sympathy he could understand, while yet she was removed from the ordinary sphere of his everyday life, and was thus able to appear in his imagination as the living symbol of divine Mercy. It may be added that the same movement of the mind which found in Mary the concrete presentation of the mercy of God, led to the creation of the host of Saints who figure in the Catholic calendar. Just as Christ had more and more ceased to be human, so Mary became more and more divine, and her place was supplied by Saint after Saint, who seemed to be nearer to humanity. Such a process was necessarily endless, and in fact it is but an expression of the inherent contradiction involved in the primary separation of the divine and the human, the sacred and the secular life; for where the divine is not found in the human but above and beyond it, the process of trying to bring them together necessarily leads to an infinite series. The Reformers were therefore justified in rejecting the Mariolatry and Saint-worship of the medieval church, and insisting that the "eternal womanly" is to be sought in the ordinary life of the wife and mother.

When Dante goes on to speak of the Christian life he separates, as we should expect, between the natural and theological virtues. The highest point reached by philosophical reflection, as it appears in Plato, Aristotle and Virgil, cannot satisfy the innate desire for truth. The noblest minds of antiquity are represented as consumed by a fruitless longing, and this indeed constitutes their only punishment. In a pathetic passage (Pg. 3, 43) Virgil, after referring to the sad state of "Plato, Aristotle and many others," "bowed his head, said no more, and remained disquieted." No one has ever ascended to Paradise "who did

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not believe in Christ, either before or after he was nailed to the cross." Faith in Christ is thus the precondition of righteousness. Nor is it enough to possess this faith, but it must be openly professed. Statius, convinced by the unconscious prophecy of Christianity contained in Virgil's picture of the return of righteousness and of the first age of man, accepted the Christian faith, but was "through fear a Christian only in secret, for a long time making outward profession of paganism"; and for his pusillanimity he was confined to the fourth circle of Purgatory for more than four centuries. Faith must manifest itself in act, or the heathen will put Christians to shame. "Many cry, Christ, Christ, who in the judgment shall be far less near to him than those who had no knowledge of Christ; and such Christians the Ethiop shall condemn, when the two companies shall be separated, the one rich to everlasting, the other poor." Faith is "that precious jewel, on which all goodness rests." It is the "entrance to the way of salvation" by which the Kingdom of heaven has been peopled. Heresy, which is the opposite of faith, often springs from pride, as in the case of Sabellius and Arius, who first swerved from the true path and were then too proud to acknowledge their error. All light is from above, darkness is the shadow of the flesh. The false doctrines of heretics are like words which cut and disfigure the scriptures, and therefore in the Inferno the heretics are imprisoned in burning tombs. With Faith is closely connected the virtue of Hope, which is "the sure expectation of the glory that shall be, and comes from divine grace and foregoing merit." God is the object of the Love of all the saints. Both reason and revelation teach us that the more we know Him as he is, the more must love be enkindled in our hearts. And he who is possessed by the love of God will also love His creatures. Without these three virtues no man, however blameless his life, can enter into the kingdom of heaven.

The cardinal virtues, which are all reducible to Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Courage, prepare the way for the theological virtues, which only came to earth with the advent of Christ. The Christian life assumes two forms, the contemplative and the active, the former consisting in the contemplation of divine truth, the latter exhibiting itself in outward activity. The contemplative life, so far as it existed prior to Christianity, is

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typically presented as Rachel, the active life as Leah; the Christian life of contemplation is symbolized by Beatrice, the active life by Mathilda. By a special vow the Christian may dedicate himself to the practice of good works, which are not essential to salvation. Thus he gives up his free will, the most precious treasure which he possesses. The Church may liberate the individual from his vow, but not without substituting something else in its stead. Dante has the highest reverence for the religious orders, which he regards as specially instituted in the providence of God for the salvation of the Church; and hence he depicts with especial sympathy the lives of St. Francis and St. Dominic. These self-sacrificing men seemed to him perfect types of the ideal life.

The contrast of the cardinal and the theological virtues, and of the contemplative and the active life, is another instance of the dualism which pervades the whole of Dante's thought. He admits, indeed, that the virtues of Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Courage, to which, following Plato, he reduces all the natural virtues, assume a new form under the influence of the theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Love; but this does not prevent him from regarding the contemplative as higher than the active life. Now, we need not repeat what has already been said as to the confusion between faith as the informing spirit of the Christian life and faith as the acceptance of a particular formulation of doctrine. Taking faith in the former sense, we see at once that it cannot be separated from the natural virtues without losing its meaning. As Dante himself admits, faith must realize itself in action; in other words, only he who finds his life by losing it in others is possessed of a saving faith. But the so-called "cardinal" virtues are just the form which that faith assumes in actual life. Prudence or practical wisdom is the wise adaptation of means to ends in so far as it makes for the social good, and thus it implies the pursuit of all those sciences by which the welfare of the whole is realized. To have a genuine faith is to discharge faithfully our special function in the social organism. Thus we can see how the Christian idea of faith spiritualizes the physical and moral sciences by employing them as the means for the development of an ideal humanity. To conceive of them as purely secular is to separate what elsewhere Dante himself joins

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together, namely, the love of God and the love of man; and the separation inevitably leads to the false and pernicious doctrine, that the social well-being may be left to take care of itself. How otherwise than by the exercise of practical wisdom is the true means of promoting the common good to be discovered?

What has been said of Prudence is of course equally true of the other cardinal virtues: indeed these are simply aspects of the same thing. Justice, as the means of preserving and promoting social order, is simply practical wisdom applied to the sphere of politics; Temperance is the wise self-restraint which is essential in the discharge of all social functions; and Courage is the moral heroism which shrinks from no danger that has to be faced in the discharge of one's duty, though for historical reasons it is apt to be limited to the military profession. Thus all the natural virtues are the expression of an active, practical faith.

As the natural virtues all spring from one principle, so the three theological virtues are merely different aspects of that principle. Hope is that attitude of the religious mind in which the individual lives in the practical conviction that the soul of the world is good. It is thus the antithesis of all pessimism. In the consciousness that all things work together for good, man is lifted above the anxieties and disappointments of his every-day life, and sees already fulfilled in idea what in actual fact is only in process of fulfilment. Hope, in short, as a form of the religious consciousness, is the conviction that evil must be overcome by the irresistible power of goodness. And, finally, Love is manifestly the expression of faith and hope; it is the Christian spirit realizing itself in the Christian life through all the channels by which the ideal of humanity is advanced.

Now, although Dante has not entirely neglected this practical aspect of the Christian life, he cannot get rid of the medieval idea that the contemplative is higher than the active life. If this only meant that it is the religious consciousness which gives meaning to life by presenting it as the process in which the individual is enabled to view his own petty efforts as contributing to the triumph of goodness, there would be nothing to object. But, viewed in this way, the opposition of the contemplative and the active life is meaningless. The true life of man is neither in reflection nor in action, but in both; in other words, it is not the

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special function which a man discharges, but the spirit in which he discharges it, that makes his life divine. Dante's contrast of the contemplative and the active life does not correspond to the life of the thinker as distinguished from the life of the practical man, but to the sequestered life of the monk or nun as compared with the every-day life of ordinary humanity. But, in admitting that the active life is compatible at all with the life of faith, he has practicably surrendered the opposition of secular and sacred. If the contemplative life, as he understands it, is higher than the active, the latter must be essentially inconsistent with the Christian ideal; the logical inference from which is, that all should take upon themselves the vows of poverty, celibacy and obedience; *i.e.*, that society and even the race itself should cease to exist.

How strong a hold this idea of the religious life as something apart from the secular life had upon Dante's mind is shown by his maintaining that there are good works which are not essential to salvation. No greater contradiction of the Christian ideal of life could well be conceived. For that ideal throws into relief the inadequacy of any actual realization of the supreme good; and it is the contrast between the ideal and the real which is the source and inspiration of all spiritual progress, whether in the individual or the race. Only an external and mechanical conception of the religious life can permit anyone to imagine for a moment that a man may claim merit for anything that he can do. With all his fine insight and strong religious spirit Dante here shows in the most unmistakable way the limitations of his time. In a sense no doubt he was a "Reformer before the Reformation," but only in the sense in which all the best minds of the Middle Ages might be so named. Theoretically he has not grasped the principle which lay at the very heart of the Reformation, the principle that works are not the source of merit, but only the outward manifestation of the life of the spirit.

JOHN WATSON.

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THE SHULEMITE.

A PARAPHRASE OF THE BOOK OF CANTICLES.

PREFATORY.

WHATEVER sins the "Higher Criticism" may be charged with, at least this much should be placed to its credit, that it has made one book of Holy Scripture more intelligible, and given it an ethical value which it lacked before. That book is "The Song of Songs," which has always been a perplexity to commentators. What is its motive, its teaching? At first sight it is anything but moral, let alone religious. No allusion to any devotional or religious subject is made in it; the Divine Being is not mentioned.* Taken in its bald literalness it appears as a collection of amatory lyrics, which, however beautiful as poetical compositions, are no more conducive to piety than the Odes of Anacreon or Horace. Why then was it enrolled in the Canon, when such a book as "Wisdom" was relegated to the Apocrypha?

The only way in which it could be utilized for a religious purpose was to consider it as an allegory, and to read into it allusions to "the mystical union betwixt Christ and His Church." But the allegory was often far-fetched, and it was always an unsatisfactory thought that the book *had* to be allegorized in order to render it acceptable to a pious mind. Whether we consult dear, quaint, old Matthew Henry (whose commentary in many respects is still unexcelled) or study the fathers or those modern expositors who so largely quote from them, we think we can trace through them all the same under-current of dissatisfaction with their own efforts, as if they had said, This is the best we can make of it.

Its claim to a place in the Canon was supposed to be that King Solomon was its author; and it was conjectured that he composed it as an "Epithalamium" to celebrate his nuptials with

*To be sure in Cant. VIII, 6, in the original word יָהּ occurs as a suffix, but it does duty simply as a superlative, and is so rendered in A. V.

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the princess of Egypt. Now, it is true that "his songs were a thousand and five;" (I Kings, iv, 22) and it is possible that some of these might have been composed for the occasion mentioned, or indeed to celebrate any of his most numerous marriages. But the sacred scriptures speak of these marriages with reprobation as offensive to God and bringing ruin on the nation. The passage in Deuteronomy (xvii, 14-20) evidently reflects on Solomon, either prospectively or retrospectively, according as we adopt the conventional or the "Higher" criticism. It is therefore hard to imagine that such an occasion should have been selected for the special operation of the Holy Spirit, or that the monarch should have been *then* a fit subject for divine inspiration. Still the "Epithalamium" theory has been the one usually enforced. I have heard sermons by learned divines wherein this sonorous word was solemnly brought in as a sort of "clencher" of all discussion; and no doubt simple pious minds have been overawed by its sound; like the old lady we read about who declared the sermon did her so much good whenever it mentioned that sweet word, Mesopotamia.

But even granting the above hypothesis, that it was composed by Solomon, on the occasion of his marriage, one naturally enquires, What is the purport of the poem? what is the argument? Who is the speaker? Who is addressed? A most cursory glance would shew that it is not always the same speaker, nor the same person or party who is addressed. Hence very early the idea was mooted (e. g. by S. Gregory Nazianzen) that it was a *dialogue* rather than a pure lyric. The Revised Version has accentuated this idea by separating the different stanzas. But if a dialogue, then who were the speakers and what were their several parts? Interpret it which way they would the whole matter was most unsatisfactory so long as it was taken for granted that King Solomon was its author.

But the "higher criticism" has emphasized the idea that it was written not *by*, but *about*, King Solomon. I say emphasized the idea, for the modern critics did not originate it. In the now old-fashioned commentary of Patrick, Lowth, Whitby and Arnold, Bishop Lowth in his prolegomena to the Books of Canticles notices that, in the word לִשְׁלֹמֹה the prefix ל does not neces-

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sarily indicate the Genitive but rather the Dative or Ablative case, corresponding to the Latin *de* or the Greek *περί*. In that case it should read, "The song of songs which is *concerning* Solomon."

Acting on these suggestions—viz: (1st) that the song is a dialogue or rather a crude drama, and (2nd) that it is concerning Solomon and not by him—modern critics have transfigured the song from a merely amatory ode, with no apparent aim save a sensual one, into a dramatic piece with a highly moral motive. Under this aspect it supplies a want which seemed to be in the Old Testament before, a want which no one like Solomon could supply, viz: a commendation of pure connubial love, the most important factor in all the problems of humanity, the greatest motive power of all social life;

—"The love
Of man and woman when they love the best."

Tennyson's King Arthur says:—

"For indeed I know
Of no more subtle master of the mind
Than is the maiden passion for a maid,
Not only to keep down the base in man,
But teach high thought, and honourable words,
And courtliness, and the desire of fame,
And love of truth, and all that makes a man."

and Coleridge sings:—

"All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
All are the ministers of Love,
And feed his sacred flame."

And the word of God had said from the beginning, "For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall cleave unto his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh."

But what could King Solomon, with his 700 wives and 300 concubines, know of this pure love? Fancy Juliet being wooed by Romeo to become one of a whole lot of wives, or Desdemona or Imogene, or Rosalind! Indeed, import the idea of *polygamy* into any one of Shakespeare's plays, and you ruin it. And we may say the same of the creations of any of our great English poets.

The question then arises, if Solomon was not its author, by

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whom and when was it written? Internal evidence (such as the mention of Tirzah, vi, 4—compare I Kgs. xv, 21, and xvi, 15-18,) indicates some seer of the northern kingdom as the author, and the reign of Baasha or Zimri as the time—say B. C. 930, fifty years or so after Solomon's death.

Accepting this view we have in our book a drama—in a crude form to be sure—in which the polygamy and luxuriousness of Solomon are satirized, and the simple country maiden's love and fidelity to her peasant lover triumph at last over the king's passion; and so the Song of Songs conveys a high moral lesson. And no doubt it had its political significance also at the time. "A poem in the northern dialect, with a northern heroine and scenery, contrasting the pure simplicity of Galilee with the corrupt splendour of the court of Solomon, is clearly the embodiment of one phase of the feeling which separated the ten tribes from the house of David." (Prof. Robertson Smith's article on "Canticles" in Encycl. Brit.)

We have called the poem a drama in a crude form; for composed four or five hundred years before the golden age of Greek Tragedy, we may well look upon it as exhibiting a rudimentary stage in the evolution of the Drama. Want of the accessories of scenery, etc., would necessitate fewer speakers and fewer "acts"; we might expect that much would be told in oblique narration; and so forth.

The argument of the piece is briefly this: King Solomon in one of his royal progresses through the northern part of his kingdom, sees in his vineyards near Shulem (or Sunem) a beautiful maiden. He arranges with her brothers, who are her guardians, to have her sent to his harem in Jerusalem. She however remains true to her country lover and rejects the King's offers, even that of making her one of his queens. His advances are always met with the cry; "I am my beloved's and my beloved is mine!" King Solomon at last, overcome by her steadfastness, generously restores her to liberty. The poem ends with the re-union of the lovers.

In the original form the scene appears to have been laid throughout—with the exception of the closing verses (viii, 5-14)—in the royal palace. The interlocutors were few, viz: The Shulemite maiden, the King, and the Chorus which consisted of the

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"Daughters of Jerusalem," or the inmates of the royal harem. All the incidents leading up to the position appear to have been recited by the Shulemite to the Chorus—the harshness of her brothers, the devotion of her peasant lover, her abduction by the King. So the lover and her brothers did not appear on the stage till the close.

In the following paraphrase I have somewhat modernized the play by introducing the lover to speak his own words. So we have three "Acts." In the first the scene is laid in the vineyard. In the second we have what transpired in the palace. In the third we have the re-union of the lover in the scene of the first act. To effect this some transposition of the stanzas was necessary, and some gaps had to be filled up. The diction is as far as possible that of the authorized version, the changes made being slight and mainly for the sake of clearness.

The idea of the following setting of the play was suggested by an admirable article by Miss Ellice Hopkins in *The Century* of April, 1883, which itself is based on the Commentary of Ewald. See also the article on "Canticles" by Prof. W. Robertson Smith in the Encyclopedia Britannica, Canon Driver's Introduction to O. T., etc.

The figures on the right hand of the page refer to the Chapter and verse of the song in either the Authorized or Revised Version which should be compared.

By this form it is hoped that the intention and *spirit* of the poem are brought out; though it be at the expense of close adherence to the *letter*. G. F. LOWE.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Bashemath—the Shulemite—a young maiden.
Saphir—a young shepherd—lover of Bashemath.
Carmi, *Shual*, *Teresh*—Brothers of Bashemath—owners of a vineyard.
King Solomon—
Chorus—of "Daughters of Jerusalem" *i.e.* the Queens and other inmates of King Solomon's harem.
Soldiers and attendants of the King—
Rustic maidens—

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THE SHULEMITE, ACT I.

Scene.—A Vineyard in the North country of Palestine, with a cottage or lodge therein—an apple-tree in blossom, vines, etc. A large latticed window or loggia to the cottage.

Time of King Solomon.

The three brothers on the stage, ready to go to work in their vineyard.]

Carmi. We have a little sister, viii. 8
and she is as innocent as a child:
What shall we do for our sister
in the day when men shall ask for her?

Shual. We will wall her round as if she were a hoard viii. 9
of silver;
we will enclose her with boards of cedar.

Teresh. Her beauty shall not be for the glances of a peasant;
she shall delight the heart of the King.

[Exeunt Brothers to their work.

The Shulemite appears at the window.]

Bash. O children of my mother, you were angry with me i. 6
and made me the keeper of the vineyard;
but mine own vineyard I have not kept.
Not to the harem of King Solomon shall I ago,
O my brothers,
but to him whom my soul loveth,
where he maketh his flocks to rest at noon,
for I am my beloved's and he is mine.
Hark! the voice of my beloved!
Behold, he cometh leaping on the mountains,
skipping gaily on the hills like a roe or young hart.
Behold, already he standeth behind the wall of i. 9
our own vineyard,
and will soon be at the lattice of the window.
Let me hide and hear his call.

[Bashemath retires out of sight and Saphir enters.

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Saphir. Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away! i. 10-14
For lo! the winter is past,
the rain is over and gone;
the flowers appear on the earth,
the time of the singing of birds is come,
and the voice of the turtle is heard in the land!
The fig-tree putteth forth her green figs,
and sweet is the smell of the vines
with the young grape.
Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away!
Oh, my dove hidden like one in the clefts of the rock,
in the secret places of the stairs,
let me see thy countenance,
let me hear thy voice;
For sweet is thy voice and thy countenance is comely!

Bashemath re-appears at the window and sings a familiar vineyard song.]

Bash. Catch the foxes,
the little foxes that spoil the vines;
for the vineyards are in bloom with the young grapes.
My beloved is mine, and I am his;
he feedeth his flock among the lilies.

Saphir. Turn my beloved, until the day break
and the shadows flee away,
And be thou like a roe or a young hart
upon the mountains of Bether.

[Exit Saphir.

Enter the three brothers. Bashemath joins them.]

Carmi. Who is this that cometh up from the desert like pillars of smoke;
perfumed with myrrh and frankincense,
with all the scents of the merchant?

Shual. Behold! 'Tis the train of the King! the glorious iii. 6-11
Solomon comes
borne aloft on his litter,

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Threescore mighty men are about it,
of the valiant in Israel,
the most expert in war.

Teresh. Solomon's gorgeous litter of Lebanon's cedars,
the pillars thereof of silver,
the flooring thereof of gold,
and the canopy purple.
Bringing jewels and gifts,
the delight of the daughters of Zion.

All four. Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion,
and hail the glorious Solomon
Wearing the crown wherewith his mother crowned him
in the day of his marriage,
when in gladness of heart he brought home his Egyptian bride.

Enter King Solomon in state, borne on the royal litter or palanquin, with attendants. He addresses Bashemath.

King Sol.

Lo! thou art fair, my friend! Lo, thou art fair!
Thine eyes gleam like those of doves amid thy locks;
Thy hair shines like the silken-coated goats
that browse on Mount Gilead:
Thy lips are like a thread of scarlet;
thy temples are like a piece of pomegranate:
Thy neck stately as the tower of David
surmounts a bosom fair as the lilies.
Until the day break, and the shadows flee away,
I will get me to the mountain of myrrh.
and to the hill of frankincense.
Thou art all fair, my love;
there is no spot in thee.

[Exeunt *King* and retinue.

The Three Brothers.

O sister, thou art a precious ointment; i. 2-4
thou will be brought into the chambers of the King;
we will be glad and rejoice in thee.

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The love of the King will be sweeter than wine ;
the maidens of the court will praise thee
loyal people will have thee in regard.

ACT II.

Scene.—The interior of King Solomon's palace in Jerusalem. Chorus of the "Daughters of Jerusalem," *i.e.*, the Queens and other inmates of the Harem.

Bashemath decked with chains of gold, jewels, etc., with a large nosegay in her hand or bosom.

Bash.

I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, i. 5-17
comely as the tents of Kedar,
as the curtains of Solomon.
Look not with scorn upon me because I am swarthy,
because the sun hath browned me ;
my brothers made me work in the vineyard.
But where art thou whom my soul loveth,
where feed'st thou thy flock ?
where dost thou make them rest at noon ?
Why should I be here like one that has turned aside
by the flocks of thy companions ?

Chorus (ironically).

If thou know not, O thou fairest among women,
go thy way forth and follow the footsteps of the flock
go back to thy beloved and feed thy kids
beside the tents of the shepherds.

Enter *King Solomon*, who addresses *Bashemath*.]

King Sol.

I would compare thee, O my love,
to the steeds that draw the chariot of Pharaoh.
Thy cheeks are comely with rows of jewels,
thy neck with chains of gold.

Bash. (disregarding the king).

While the king sitteth at his table, i. 5-17
the spikenard giveth forth its fragrance ;

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So is my beloved to me,
as a bundle of myrrh,
as a cluster of camphire in the vineyards of En-gedi.

King Sol. Behold, thou art fair, my friend ;
behold, thou art fair ;
thou hast doves' eyes.

Bash. (still disregarding the presence of the king and addressing her absent lover).

Behold, *thou* art fair, my beloved,
yea, thou art pleasant.
Our couch is in the dale
under the lofty cedars and the spreading fir.
For I am but a wild flower of the plains
and a lily of the valleys

King Sol. As a lily among the thorns, ii. 2
So is my friend among the daughters.

Bash. As the apple-tree amongst the wild growth of the woods,
So is my beloved among the sons.

King Sol. Console her, daughters of Jerusalem, till I return.

[Exit King Solomon.

Bash. By night on my bed I sought him whom my soul loveth ;
I sought him but I found him not.
I sleep, but my heart waketh ; v. 2
it is the voice of my beloved that knocketh,
" Open to me, my sister, my love, my undefiled ; v. 2-16
for my head is filled with dew,
and my locks with the drops of the night."

. . . . . .

I opened to my beloved ;
but my beloved had withdrawn himself, and was gone ;
My soul failed when he spake :
I sought him but I could not find him ;
I called him, but he gave me no answer.

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The watchmen that went about the city found me,
they smote me, they wounded me;
the keepers of the walls took away my veil
from me.
I charge you, O daughters of Jerusalem,
if ye find my beloved,
that ye tell him, that I am sick of love.

Chorus. O, thou fairest among women,
what is thy beloved more than another,
that thou dost so charge us?

Bash. Oh! chief among ten thousand is my beloved!
his head is as the most fine gold;
his locks are curled and black as the raven;
his eyes are like the eyes of doves;
his cheeks are like sweet flowers
his lips like lilies shedding sweet perfume;
his hands are like gold set with jewels;
his body is like ivory overlaid with sapphire;
his legs are like pillars of marble;
fair as the cedar of Lebanon is his countenance
his mouth is sweet;
yea, he is altogether lovely.
Such is my beloved, O daughters of Jerusalem!

Chorus.
Where is thy beloved gone, fairest among women? vi. 1-13
where is he turned aside, that we may seek him
him with thee?

Bash. My beloved is gone down into his garden of spices,
he feedeth his flocks among the lilies
I am my beloved's,
and my beloved is mine.

Enter *King Solomon*. *Bashemath* looks scornfully at him.]

King Sol.
Thou art beautiful as Tirzah, my friend,
fair to see as Jerusalem,
yet terrible also as an army with banners.
Turn away thine eyes from me,
for they overcome me.

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Threescore in number are the queens
and fourscore the concubines, besides virgins;
but thou art the fairest.

Bash. I am my beloved's
and my beloved is mine.

(Here King Solomon vanquished by the Shulemite's persistence gives her liberty to leave.)

Bash. (departing).
I go to my garden, to see the fruits of the valley,
to see whether the vine has flowered
and the pomegranates budded.
Or ever I know, I shall be set in the carriages
of my own kindly country people.

[Exit Bashemath.

King Sol. Return, return, O Shulemite!
return, return, that we may look upon thee.

Chorus. What do you see in the Shulemite,
with her contemptuous regard?

[The scene ends with the chorus singing and dancing to distract the king's mind.

ACT III.

Scene.—The vineyard as in Act I. On the stage the three brothers and some rustic maidens.

All Sing. Catch the foxes, ii. 15
the little foxes
that spoil the vines,
for our vineyards are in bloom.

Carmi. Who is this that cometh up from the wilder- viii. 5-14
ness
leaning upon her lover?

Shual. Is it not our mother's daughter,
she that was brought up under our tree?
Here was she born and brought up.

Enter Bashemath and Saphir arm-in-arm.]

Saphir. Come with me to Lebanon, my bride!
with me to Lebanon

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Let us look from the top of Amana,
from the top of Shenir and Hermon,
from the haunts of the lion and the leopard.
Thou hast ravished my heart, my bride!
thou hast ravished my heart
with the glance of thine eye,
with the turn of thy neck.
How sweet is thy love, my bride,
thy love is sweeter than wine,
honey and milk are under thy tongue.
A garden enclosed is my bride,
a fountain of waters sealed,
a fountain of living waters,
of streams from Lebanon.

Bash. Awake, O North wind!
and come thou South!
Blow upon my garden
that the spices thereof may flow out.
Let my beloved come into his garden,
let him eat its pleasant fruits.

Saphir. King Solomon had a vineyard at Baalhamon;
he let out the vineyard unto keepers;
Everyone was to bring for the fruit thereof
a thousand pieces of silver.
O Solomon, have thou thy thousand,
and thy keepers their two hundred.
My vineyard, which is mine, is before me.

The brothers come forward and recognize Bashemath.]

Brothers. Behold, it is our sister,
she who found favor in the eyes of the king.

Bashemath and Saphir.

Yes, love is as strong as death;
jealousy is cruel as the grave;
Many waters cannot quench love,
neither can the floods drown it.
In vain shall a man give all his substance to buy love,
all the wealth of his house;
it would be utterly despised.

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THE EARTH AND THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE.

(CONTINUED FROM THE APRIL NUMBER.)

I.

THE Geologist must, in the main, proceed along lines of thought and research quite different from those pursued by the physicist. He has no fixed and established mathematical theorems which he can call to his aid in the explanation of his phenomena and upon the results of which he can rely with anything like implicit confidence.

The earth is, so to speak, the growing, developing organism which he is to study, and its growth is so slow as scarcely to make itself appreciable during the history of geologic thought, and not even to become prominent during the whole authentic history of the human race.

Here it can be truly said that a thousand years are as but a single day. And yet, from observations carried on for only about a century, and confined to very much less than one-fifth of the surface of this slowly developing planet, the geologist must draw his inferences and frame some reasonable and probable theory of the past history of the earth, and of the length of time during which it has been undergoing its development, since it settled down upon it own account and began to clothe its fiery nakedness with a garment of solid rock, or to ordain itself with the products of organic life. The task appears to be a Herculean or even an impossible one; and in some respects it is so.

The geologist is certainly not in a position to dogmatize upon the length of geologic time, but his observations have created in him, strong convictions in regard to this age, and on the average he believes it to be very great, many times greater than the physicist has hitherto been inclined to allow him.

Let us then consider the nature of the geologist's observations and try to draw some logical inferences from them; and if we do not follow such an order as would be adopted by any leading geologist, we may follow such a one as best suits our purpose.

For the present, putting theory altogether aside, let us confine ourselves to observed facts.

When we dig into the earth's crust we become acquainted with three very distinct kinds of rocks, one of which is always present if we go down far enough, and which may lie at the top with the

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others absent, or may even interpenetrate the others. This rock which is always present is igneous or granitic, well exemplified in granite, syenite and lava, a hard crystalline substance in which the distinct crystals of its constituent minerals can frequently be detected by the unaided eye.

It forms the great mass of the interior of mountain chains, and underlies all other rocks as far as is known, in the superficial and observable layers of the earth's crust. Of what may be in the deep interior we have no knowledge.

The granitic rocks frequently break through the other rocks lifting and thrusting them aside as if driven on by some enormous force from below, and producing in these latter, wherever they come into contact with the former, a peculiar change, which plainly points to the transforming influence of a very high temperature.

Not only so, they frequently interlaminate themselves between the layers of the other rocks, filling up the intermediate lacunæ, just as hot melted pitch will fill the interspaces between the stones in a concrete pavement.

Only one inference can be drawn with respect to the origin of these rocks. Their crystalline structure, their disposition relatively to the other rocks, and their whole conformation indicate that they have at some time in the past cooled and solidified from a hot and liquid condition. And from their universal distribution they plainly show that whatever the interior of the earth may have been, its surface at least, as far as we are capable of examining it, was once a vast waste of glowing liquid rock matter; and from the phenomena of volcanoes, earthquakes, elevations and subsidences to be observed at the present day, it seems natural to infer that the interior of the earth, at some considerable depth, is in much the same state yet, although this is an open question which we have no purpose at present in discussing.

The second great class is that of the stratified rocks, which, whether consisting of limestones, or sandstones, or shales, or even beds of loose sand or debris, always lie in layers or strata, reaching at times, in orderly succession, through depths of thousands of feet, and extending over wide regions of a country or even of a continent. These are in general never crystalline, al-

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though they may, as in the case of sandstones, consist of minute particles of crystalline rocks cemented together by some kind of calcareous or argillaceous cement.

On the other hand many of them, as certain limestones, and possibly all limestones, are clearly due to the force of organic life, being composed of infinite numbers of microscopic shells or casts from animals or plants, held together by some intergranular cementing substance.

The granitic rocks are exceedingly durable, offering great resistance to the action of both air and water. The stratified rocks, upon the other hand, undergo a *weathering* process or gradual disintegration upon exposure to the atmosphere, the cementing substance as also the calcareous granular constituents being slowly dissolved by the action of rain water charged with carbonic acid.

The third division of rocks lies between the granitic or igneous and the sedimentary. These rocks are like the granitic in being crystalline in structure, and unless composed of limestones, as marble, in being also very hard and compact and durable, and they are like the sedimentary rocks in being more or less distinctly stratified, or in showing evident lines of stratification.

These are the metamorphic rocks, and from their character and relative positions it is quite evident that they are stratified rocks which, from coming in contact with hot igneous rock and being acted upon by other formative influences, have slowly been transformed or metamorphosed into that state in which we now have them.

And now having got a superficial acquaintance with the three classes of rocks which constitute the covering shell of our globe, let us see what lessons we are to draw from them, and what insight into the past history of the earth we can acquire by a study of their conformations.

Just as the granitic rocks have come into their present form under the influence of a molten state and an exceedingly high temperature, so the stratified rocks, whether now metamorphosed or not, have all at some time been deposited as fine sediment at the bottoms of great bodies of water. So that the existence of sedimentary and metamorphic rocks indicates the previous existence of a sea, and also that of some other kind of rock to form a

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sea bottom, and sufficiently cool to allow water to rest upon it; it also indicates the formation of sediment by the grinding down and carrying away, by means of moving water, some other form of previously existing rock which was either above the sea or very near its surface.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to imagine the state of things which prevailed when the first crust began to form upon the molten globe, and when all the waters of the sea, and many other present solid constituents of the earth were suspended in a dense and seething atmosphere which, swayed here and there by tempestuous and terrific storms, broke up time and again the congealing surface crust, and left it rough and jagged like the ice which in winter forms upon the agitated surface of some wind-swept pond.

The rocks thus formed, the primitive rocks in the earth's covering, were certainly not sedimentary or metamorphic, and whether they were the same as our present igneous rocks or not, they were closely allied to them. It is highly improbable that any of these primitive rocks remain in the crust now, for the miles of sedimentary and metamorphic rocks which constitute so large a part of the present crust of the earth, must all have been derived from the original rocks through the agencies of wind, and rain, and waves, and running streams of water, and animal and vegetable action. And thus the formation of rock matter, and the grinding down and disintegration of this in order to form new rock matter has gone on incessantly since the first rock was formed and geology began, and much of the original material has been worked over again and again throughout the long geologic ages.

Long stretches of time must have passed away after the first crust began to form before it became thick enough and cool enough to allow the condensation of the vapors from the atmosphere and the formation of seas, or rather a sea, for it is quite probable that at this first stage the whole of the earth's surface was covered by the gathering waters.

But in order to form sedimentary rocks we must have a sea charged with matter in suspension, which may gradually settle down as the waters become quiet, or containing calcareous or other matters in solution, from which plants or animals may

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secrete their cretaceous or silicious coverings. And a sea of any great depth can have matter in suspension only when such matter is being constantly poured into it by rapid streams of water which gather their loads in the upland hills and carry it downwards to the sea; for still water can not hold heavy matter like rock-material in suspension for any considerable length of time. And thus the existence of sedimentary rocks involves the previous existence of high land, and probably rain, and running streams of water, and flowing rivers.

It is claimed by a few who may be called short-time geologists and by some physicists that the rate at which geologic changes are taking place now is no criterion as to the rate which prevailed in the distant past, inasmuch as the disintegrating and denuding actions must have been much more rapid in the geologic ages when the seas were literally hot, and the temperature of the earth was high, than they are under present conditions.

This may be true; but it does not seem difficult to show that however long such a state of affairs existed, it had mostly passed away before the deposition of the oldest sedimentary rocks with which we are at present acquainted, namely the Silurian.

Animals do not live in very hot water, and never have so lived, so far as we have reason to believe. And yet animals and plants of a low order lived in the waters and on the land in the old Silurian times, and left their remains in the Silurian rocks as a forcible testimony to their existence.

Moreover the Silurian rocks consist in large part of limestones, and if these are the products of secreting organisms it seems probable that the rate at which these rocks could be built up in hot seas might be even less than in seas of a moderate temperature; for the sparingly soluble calcic carbonate which constitutes these limestones, and which must have been in solution in the waters of the sea, is less soluble in hot water than it is in cold water.

Also, if it is true, as claimed by Indian geologists, that there was an ice age in India in Silurian times, it follows that matters, as far at least as temperature is concerned, could not have been radically different in those times from what they are at present.

We know, again, that the deposition of rock matter in form-

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ing these ancient sedimentary rocks did not take place with anything like violence or commotion, or with exceeding rapidity, for the trails of worms, and the tracks of animals which crawled over the impressible mud of the beach, and the little pits made by the rain drops of the passing shower, and the small corrugations formed by the ripple beating upon the sandy shore, are preserved for us in these oldest of sedimentary rocks.

Of course, life upon the earth could not have begun with the Silurian rocks, although these are the oldest stratified rocks which give us clear and undeniable evidence of the existence of living things. If then these are very old, the primitive condition of things in which life first made its appearance must be referred to a period much more remote.

The sedimentary rocks were laid down at the bottom of a sea, but they are now found at all elevations above the sea level, in low and high lands, upon the elevated plateau, flanking the sides of mountain chains, and in some cases resting upon the very summit. How did they get there?

Earthquakes and other seismic disturbances occasionally elevate or depress considerable tracts of land; but these influences are altogether too local and restricted to be credited with the widely extended and continuous changes which have elevated or depressed whole countries, or even whole continents, and lifted aloft the mountain chains.

Many portions of the earth's surface, owing to some force apparently acting from within, are being slowly raised or depressed, the action taking place over large stretches of country, and being so slow as to be detected only after the lapse of many years, or even of centuries.

Thus the peninsula of Scandinavia is being raised while the opposite coast of Russia appears to be sinking. In like manner the coast of France about Cherbourg, and the Channel Islands are slowly sinking, while many parts of Europe, and of all the continents, are undergoing similar changes. And it is doubtful, in fact, if any part of the earth's surface is in a state of fixed and permanent equilibrium.

Given time enough, and these movements, however slowly effected, will account for any elevation of sedimentary rocks to be found. But time enters here as an important element, and

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there are no good reasons for believing that the movements indicated have ever been carried on at a faster mean rate than at present.

That the action from below is not violent or eruptive, but slow and continuous, is indicated by the fact that layers of rock so uplifted are not broken or destroyed, but at most thrown out of their original horizontal position, and sometimes twisted or contorted into long sinuous curves.

The elevated ridges of these contorted strata formed hills, which, either in the process of rising above the surface of the sea when they would be subjected to the action of the waves, or afterward by the influence of rain or general weathering, were disintegrated and carried away to the sea again, leaving the edges of the various strata exposed. How long such a state of things then lasted it would be in vain to conjecture, but judging from the stability of our present continents, the time would in all probability have to be counted by hundreds of thousands of years.

But after the lapse of many ages these uplifted strata were sunk again to form a sea bottom and upon their partly upturned edges new strata were deposited in an approximately horizontal position, and the whole new system was afterwards elevated so as to come under the observation of the geologist.

And thus the stratified rocks, as they now present themselves, are not composed of a regular sequence of horizontal strata lying above one another like the courses in brick-work or the leaves of a book; in many places whole groups of strata are absent, because they have been washed away, or more probably because that particular locality was dry land during the long ages that these strata were being formed by precipitation upon the bottom of the sea.

Nor do the strata, if at all numerous, in any one place lie regularly and conformably upon one another; for one group may lie upon the edges of a more or less inclined and older group, and these again may be similarly disposed in relation to a still older group. And thus, in general, the elevation and depression of the rocky crust of the globe have taken place not merely once, but many times in succession; and in every case while rocks were being formed in one region of the earth's surface, other

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regions were dry land and furnished the material for the upbuilding of the nascent strata.

As all rocks must have been formed by the wearing down or denudation of other rocks, the rate of denudation, if known, would give us some idea as to the rate at which rocks grow while in the process of formation. But denudation is effected in several ways, and these are not characterized by any uniformity of rate.

First, when a tract of sea-bottom is being raised above the surface of the sea, it is brought directly under the denuding action of the surface waves; and the upper layers of the tract, being comparatively new and soft, might be cut away with some rapidity. But if the tract being elevated were of any great extent, the shallowness of the water would effectually protect all but the very borders of the tract, by becoming a barrier to the onward flow of the waves. So that such denudation, while being particularly active within small limits, could be neither extensive in its effects nor long-continued in any one locality.

The second way is by the action of the sea upon the land which forms its shores. These shores are being continually cut down and carried away, the debris being distributed over the adjacent sea-bottom. The rocks formed in this way are mostly sandstones and conglomerates, rock of which the constituents readily sink in water. The argillaceous matter from the corroded shore would be carried further out and be deposited as fine silt, while the calcareous matter would to a large extent go into solution and be finally secreted out by living organisms. The sandstones and conglomerates formed in this way could never be very extensive, but would form mere bands, fluctuating in width and composition with the character of the shore from which they were derived. This process of denudation, like the first, of which it is a mere modification, would soon bring about effects which would tend to prevent its own action. For a shore acted on in this way, would, after some time, become shallow and shelving, from the continuous deposition of rock matter, and would thus withstand pretty effectually any further action of the waves.

The third process of denudation, and the one which is probably the most general, and the most effective upon the whole, is

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the continuous action of rain, frost, heat, etc., upon all lands above the sea, and therefore exposed to atmospheric influence.

The least amount of observation shows how slowly but surely these influences do their work, and there is no cogent reason for assuming that they ever worked at any faster rate since the advent of the Silurian age.

Civilization, although it may clean away the forests and dry up streams and change the courses of rivers, yet leaves the general conformation of the earth's surface unchanged. The hills still stand round about Jerusalem as they did three thousand years ago, and the site of Troy is still the same as it was when Priam reigned over that ill-fated city.

In fact the whole time covered by human history is too short to bring about such general effects of denudation as may be detected with anything like certainty, and it is only by observations made in special places where some local influence is particularly active that such effects can be clearly followed and appreciated. And yet the whole exposed surface of the land is being gradually changed by the slow but never ceasing process of denudation.

Rivers are continually pushing their mouths into the sea by filling up the whole vicinity with matter brought down from the interiors of islands or continents, as witness the Mississippi of North America.

Herodotus says that the land of Egypt was formed by the river Nile, and he is probably correct. But the land of Egypt was laid down before the dawn of that nation to which Herodotus belonged, and the beginning of the formation of that land is probable hundreds of times more remote from the present than was the birth of Herodotus. And yet Egypt has been formed by debris, produced by the forces of denudation acting upon the elevated regions in the interior of Africa, and brought down to its present position by the historic Nile.

Rain and frost and wind act over the whole extent of the land, but rivers, besides bringing sediment from a higher to a lower level, act in their own distinctive manner. In their slower parts they tend to raise their beds and overflow their banks, and thus to produce plains or bottom lands, while in their rapid reaches they cut away both bed and bank and tend to form gorges and canons.

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The Niagara has been about ten thousand years, according to American geologists, in cutting the gorge from the falls to Queenston. Here is a mighty rushing river, dashing over a precipice from 150 to 200 feet high, and yet requiring ten thousand years at least to cut out a comparatively narrow channel through soft limestone rock, and only about 6 miles long.

What time then must have been consumed by the Colorado in digging a channel some hundreds of miles in length and in places about a mile in perpendicular depth? And yet these rivers began to flow, and the land of Egypt to be formed in what geologists would call quite recent times, that is, recent as compared with the long geologic ages which preceded them.

It is considerations like the foregoing that influence the geologist in his estimation of the time during which the earth has been undergoing its development, from the period when the first stratified rock was formed down to the present time.

The whole authentic history of man extends over about five thousand years, and the amount of geologic change which has been effected in that time amounts to almost nothing. And there are very strong evidences, derived from cave explorations and other cognate matters in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe that prehistoric men existed in these localities, and hunted animals of which the very species are now extinct, upwards of ten thousand, and possibly from eighty to one hundred thousand years ago. And yet all that man has done, and all the records of the presence of prehistoric man to be found in his accustomed haunts, are confined to the latter and a comparatively small portion of the last and shortest geologic age in the earth's history.

And when the geologist considers the enormous and almost innumerable changes which have taken place and left their indisputable records in the rocks, and the great length of time which was required for even the least of these changes, it is not at all to be wondered at that he should require, for the complete development of the earth, a stretch of duration many times longer than the physicist is disposed to allow.

N. F. DUPUIS.

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THE LEGEND OF ULYSSES IN DANTE AND TENNYSON.

(CONTINUED FROM THE APRIL NUMBER.)

II.

IN the six centuries that have passed since Dante wrote his *Divina Commedia*, our intellectual horizon has been undergoing a steady process of purification. Every century has contributed to clear away the fictitious and superstitious elements of the world of fantasy piously created and bequeathed to us by the wonder-loving mind of the middle-ages. The world of Dante with its mediæval mysticism and terrors, with its curious theological and political framework, its supernal and infernal splendours, has disappeared. The veritable dragons and chimæras that the imagination of the 13th century saw ramping along the borders of the sky and the known world have been touched by a decomposing ray and turned into dust and little water drops. The curtain has been raised that hid that unknown world beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and the mystery of land and ocean is gone. Gone too are the Holy Roman Empire and the crown imperial, the Guelf and the Ghibelline, and all that strong and richly coloured yet half barbaric civilisation which produced in the same age the saint of Assisi and the tyrants of Milan, Giotto's Campanile and the *Gesta Romanorum*, the Sicilian Vespers and the Wartburg Tournament, the theology of Aquinas and the tales of Chaucer and Boccacio. But this marvellous world of the past ages has not passed away without leaving something behind it. It may be said to appear again for the modern spirit in ideal forms of poetry and art, in the faerylands of Ariosto, Spenser or Keats, and in schools of painting, song, and sculpture which recall the idyllic figures of the bucolics of Theocritus and Virgil, the visions of Dante, the tales of Boccaccio and the story of Arthur, a beautiful world of legend in which the modern spirit can still find fitting symbols of the ideal. There blow the zephyrs, there the lotus blooms, and Oenone wanders in the vale of Ida; there the breezes may bear your silken sails down to tower'd Camelot, or to Bagdat's shrines of fretted gold, the home of the good Haroun Alraschid.

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There is the vale of Avalon and wounded Arthur watched by weeping queens. And with this legendary world filled with the creations of 'the supreme Caucasian mind' there blends easily and naturally all that is noble and pathetic in history, all that time has hallowed and made memorable for men, from Homer 'the Ionian father of the rest' to young Columbus 'pacing mute by ocean's rim,' to Milan and 'the chanting quires.'

This is the 'Palace of Art,' the heritage of the cultured, of which Tennyson is often a delicate interpreter for us. He has great merit as the poet of certain features of English life; the squire, the parson, the farmer, the miller, the idyllic scenes of English country life are tenderly and exquisitely touched in his poems. But outside of England, when he travels in Italy, on the lake of Como, it is not the blue waters or the olive-clad hills, or the marvellous sky and sunshine, or the sunburnt peasant that catch his fancy as they do that of Browning. It is the verse in which Virgil has celebrated the district, 'the rich Virgilian rustic measure,' the rhythm of the second Georgic, that haunts his ear and fills his imagination. In Milan, it is the achievment of the middle ages, 'the giant window's blazoned fires' and the 'hundred spires' of the great cathedral; in Genoa it is the old hall which recalls the long departed glory of the Dorias and the Spinolas,

A princely people's awful princes,
The grave, severe Genovese of old.

In such cases Tennyson is emphatically the scholar-poet, and almost more of the scholar than the poet: for though none touches them more happily and hardly any with so much of the tenderness and appreciation of the scholar, it remains true that Tennyson's imagination is rather delicate and refined than powerful. He does not recreate those worlds of the past for us as Keats can in *Endymion* or *Isabella* or *St. Agnes Eve*. He is critical, allusive, scholarly, rather than profoundly creative. The idyllic world of Theocritus, the Daphnis idyll, the tale of Boccaccio lives again in Keats; the classic Pantheism, the conception of the mighty mother takes new life from the hands of Shalley. But *Oenone* and *Tithonus*, even the *Lotus-eaters*, for all their sweet, smooth verse remain unreal and shadowy, without that deep sense of underlying reality which inspires Keats's picture of the Lamia or Shelley's *Hymn of Pan*. Short as it is, the *Ulysses* is the most

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powerful of Tennyson's poems in this style, and this is in a great measure due to the fact that here he has the support of the strongly constructive and dramatic genius of Dante.

The fundamental conception of the poem is the irresistible instinct of Ulysses to resume the wandering life of the adventurer and explorer. There is no hint of this in the Odyssey where it is with no pleasure that Ulysses hears from Teiresias the divine command to make another voyage on the deep. (Od. xxiii, 263-8.) But it is an essential part of Dante's conception of Ulysses, the very secret of that restless, striving and much daring soul, as Dante with a fine anticipation of the great navigators and explorers of modern times conceives it. The first words that Dante hears Ulysses speak strike this note: "Neither the sweet bond of a son, nor pious affection for an aged father, nor the love I owed Penelope, which should have made her days joyful, could quell within me the desire I had to see the world and the ways of men in their vice and in their virtue." This is Tennyson's theme which he paraphrases and expands with a true poet's power till he has made the haughtily plain and reserved style of Dante intelligible to the modern ear.

> I cannot rest from travel: I will drink
> Life to the lees: all times I have enjoy'd
> Greatly, have suffer'd greatly, both with those
> That loved me, and alone; on shore, and when
> Thro' scudding drifts the rainy Hyades
> Vext the dim sea: I am become a name;
> For always roaming with a hungry heart
> Much have I seen and known.

That is magnificent translation in the larger sense of the word, and perhaps the only adequate translation, when a true poet takes the pen and translates not merely the sense but the inward force, the indefinable power of his original, so that contemporaries can feel the pathos and the poetry that lie locked up in unfamiliar style and rhythm.

It is true there seems to be something of a new note, something characteristic of the modern self-consciousness in that Faust-like yearning to exhaust the joys of life, to 'drink life to the lees,' and in that romantic delight peculiar to the northman in breaking seas and blustering winds. All that is alien to the

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classical spirit and unfamiliar even to Dante who was no Venetian or Genoese sea-rover but a land-loving Florentine of the thirteenth century. But it is the modern equivalent of that spirit of adventure which is the distinctive character of Dante's Ulysses.

This is the relation of Tennyson to Dante throughout the poem. The fundamental ideas are there in Dante expressed in a powerful though somewhat severe and condensed form, an austere parsimony of style in which every word takes its force from the dramatic intensity of the situation; while in Tennyson the same ideas are repeated in a more expansive and lyrical manner, slightly modified here and there by touches of romantic sentiment which though not entirely absent are severely repressed in Dante. Thus it is Dante's invention and quite unsanctioned by Homer, 'that little band of companions who did not desert me,' and of whom he says in his quiet way "And I and my companions were old and worn when we came to that narrow strait where Hercules set up his pillars for a mark that men may be warned not to go beyond them." Then Ulysses makes his 'little oration' to them, "O brothers, who through a hundred thousand perils have reached the western bounds of the world, do not refuse, etc." The plain and simple words of Dante draw their force in a great measure from the dramatic power of the situation; there is no need of elaboration or adornment. In Tennyson all this becomes lyrical and is expressed with effusion. The romantic feeling of adventure which is latent in Dante, implicit in the situation, becomes explicit in Tennyson.

> There lies the port; the vessel puffs her sail;
> There gloom the dark broad seas. My mariners,
> Souls that have toil'd and wrought, and thought with me—
> That ever with a frolic welcome took
> The thunder and the sunshine, and opposed
> Free hearts, free foreheads—you and I are old;
> Old age hath yet his honour and his toil;
> Death closes all: but something ere the end,
> Some work of noble note, may yet be done,
> Not unbecoming men that strove with Gods.

This curious resemblance in fundamental ideas, as of thoughts restated for the new point of view and enlarged feeling of a later age, and yet substantially the same, is very apparent in the appeal

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which in both poems Ulysses makes to his companions. In Dante Ulysses says with a heroic scorn of ease for the few years of life left them, "O brothers, this little bit of waking life yet left us, do not refuse to it the opportunity of exploring this new world—where men have never passed. Consider the seed of which you are; ye were not made to live like brutes but to follow virtue and knowledge." That is all; but the scornful emphasis on the words "this little bit of waking life," *questa tanto picciola vigilia* is hardly to be rendered in a translation; and is not less admirable than the powerful simplicity and brevity of that

Fatti non foste a viver come bruti
Ma per seguir virtute e conoscenza.

'Made ye never were to live like as the brutes do, etc.'

In Tennyson it is the same restless, eager soul that expresses itself; but there is a modern note of subjective melancholy, of contemplative yearning and unrest

Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'
Gleams that untravell'd world whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move.
How dull it is to pause, to make an end
To rust unburnished, not to shine in use
As tho' to breathe were life. Life piled on life
Were all too little, and of one to me
Little remains.

In Dante the thirst of Ulysses to have experience of that mysterious world 'without people' beyond the straits has something of the mediæval love of the wonderful and the miraculous. Tennyson modernizes this into a more refined and developed consciousness of the mystery of man's life, a brief moment of consciousness surrounded by the silence of eternity

but every hour is saved
From that eternal silence, something more
A bringer of new things; and vile it were
For some three suns to store and hoard myself
And this gray spirit yearning in desire
To follow knowledge like a sinking star
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.

But at bottom it is the same conception somewhat disguised by the more flowing and lyrical manner of the nineteenth century and re-edited, so to speak, for the wider sense it has of life Thus

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at every remove, Horace, Dante, Tennyson, we are taken further from the actual Homeric Ulysses by the very process of interpretation which shows us the implicit ideal it contains. Even Horace in his epistle to Lollius depicts an ideal which is not quite explicit in the Odyssey; Dante goes still further on the same road, and Tennyson completes the process by giving us a Ulysses with the refined and enlarged sense of life characteristic of the 19th century. Dante's Ulysses is under the spell of an unknown and mysterious globe as yet unexplored. He is the contemporary of Marco Polo and Mandeville and is certain to encounter magic and monsters on his voyage. In Tennyson this is transmuted into modern sentiment, the glamour and mystery of the sea which has still some hold on the imaginative mind.

> The long day wanes; the slow moon climbs; the deep
> Moans round with many voices.

It is true towards the end of the poem, Tennyson has inserted some beautiful lines designed to recall the magic and mystery of the world as it existed for the ancient and mediæval mind

> for my purpose holds
> To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
> Of all the western stars, until I die,
> It may be that the gulfs will wash us down:
> It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
> And see the great Achilles, whom we knew.

That is a fine kind of local colour, but were it not for the exquisite touch which harmonizes all, we might feel that however beautiful in itself, however appropriate to the Homeric and even the Dantean Ulysses, it took something from the significance of the rest of a poem which might, almost every word of it, be the address of some famous sea-adventurer of modern times, a Raleigh or a Frobisher, to his companions. The poem in short is a very beautiful expression of the modern romantic spirit of adventure which though at bottom the same in every age to that of Homer backwards, yet may be fitly represented, as it is here, as having a refinement and self-consciousness peculiar to itself. Even in that justification of his wandering propensities which Ulysses feels himself obliged to make to Telemachus, there is something distinctively modern, the justification of a character and its actions not by any external conception of law but by the inward law of

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its own development. The lines contain an excellent picture of two strongly contrasted types and are more profoundly original than anything else in the poem :

> This is my son, mine own Telemachus,
> To whom I leave the sceptre and the isle—
> Well-loved of me, discerning to fulfil
> This labour, by slow prudence to make mild
> A rugged people, and thro' soft degrees
> Subdue them to the useful and the good.
> Most blameless is he, centred in the sphere
> Of common duties, decent not to fail
> In offices of tenderness, and pay
> Meet adoration to my household gods,
> When I am gone. He works his work, I mine.

A most beautiful description of the office of a ruler, an Oswald or an Alfred, in an age just emerging into civilized life. The characterisation of the home-keeping type is delicate and true, the phrase plain and powerful like that of Dante and deriving as in him a double force from the dramatic setting

> Most blameless is he, centred in the sphere
> Of common duties, decent not to fail
> In offices of tenderness.

We see then what Tennyson's poem is. The framework, the fundamental conception, even the leading ideas are substantially those of Dante, but Tennyson has breathed the breath of modern life into it, has renewed and recreated its spirit so to speak into a form adapted to the modern mind and representing more clearly the modern consciousness of life. In one sense Tennyson's poem is so entirely based upon Dante's that it might almost be called a translation, a noble translation of one great poet by another into the language and sentiment of his own age, perhaps the only really adequate and successful kind of translation. But after all there is something of the universal character of poetic work in this. Even the most original of poets is generally, in a more or less obvious way transforming or building upon the work of his predecessors, but in Tennyson's Ulysses as in Virgil's Eclogues this relation is more than usually conscious and evident.

But there is a curious and very characteristic difference in the manner of the two poets. Dante's style is severe and reserved.

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It reads like what it is, a scroll of doom where there are no words but what are strictly necessary and every one of these of fatal importance. It is a style natural to Dante, fluid enough in its shaping to catch and reflect every phase of feeling but adamantine in its settled and final state like a cut gem; but it has a special appropriateness as the language of the personages of the Inferno who speak from a region where the hopes and fears and the common sympathies of humanity have almost ceased to exist.

Dante's Ulysses is not unconscious of the heroism, the mingled terror and pleasure of wandering on the wide ways of ocean. He feels what is poetic and romantic in that, too, and in the fidelity of his aged companions, but it is all condensed in a single emphatically placed word or phrase

> Ma misi me per l'alto mare aperto
> *Sol* con un legno and con quella compagna
> Picciola, *dalla qual non fui deserto*

"*alone* on the great ocean with that small band who never deserted me." In Tennyson these details blossom out into picturesque description

> There gloom the dark broad seas. My mariners,
> Souls that have toil'd and wrought and thought with me—
> That ever with a frolic welcome took
> The thunder and the sunshine, etc.

Tennyson's style is lyrical and effusive, Dante's grave, reserved and dramatic.

There is another merit which one would like to notice in this poem of Tennyson's. It is in my opinion the most perfect and sustained specimen of his blank verse which we possess. It is the golden mean between the somewhat broken and unorganized blank verse of his English idylls and the sweet but often rather nerveless movement of his rhythm in the Idylls of the King. In the *Ulysses* there is not a single lapse. Every rhythm whether ornate, as

> Far on the ringing plains of windy Troy

or plain, as

> I am a part of all that I have met

is admirable; every pause, however unusual, is excellently placed, as in the line

> but every hour is saved
> From that eternal silence, something more
> A bringer of new things.

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It has all Tennyson's characteristic grace and sweetness with more strength and candour than is usual. There is constant variety yet everywhere perfect naturalness. In the verse of Ulysses he has really succeeded in uniting some of the best qualities of *terza rima*, as Dante uses it, its fluidity, its freedom and variety of movement, its natural dignity and the emphatic power of its accents and pauses. JAMES CAPPON.

FROM RUSKIN.

ON A PICTURE OF BOTICELLI'S.

I PROMISED some note of Sandro's* Fortitude, before whom I asked you to sit and read the end of my last letter ; and I've lost my own notes about her, and forget, now, whether she has a sword, or a mace ;—it does not matter. What is chiefly notable in her is—that you would not, if you had to guess who she was, take her for Fortitude at all. Everybody else's Fortitudes announce themselves clearly and proudly. They have tower-like shields, and lion-like helmets—and stand firm astride on their legs,—and are confidently ready for all comers.

Yes ;—that is your common Fortitude. Very grand, though common. But not the highest, by any means.

Ready for all comers, and a match for them,—thinks the universal Fortitude ;—no thanks to her for standing so steady, then !

But Boticelli's Fortitude is no match, it may be, for any that are coming. Worn, somewhat ; and not a little weary, instead of standing ready for all comers, she is sitting,—apparently in reverie, her fingers playing restlessly and idly—nay, I think—even nervously, about the hilt of her sword.

For her battle is not to begin to-day ; nor did it begin yesterday. Many a morn and eve have passed since it began—and now—is this to be the ending day of it ? And if this—by what manner of end ?

That is what Sandro's Fortitude is thinking. And the playing fingers about the sword-hilt would fain let it fall, if it might be : and yet, how swiftly and gladly will they close on it, when the far-off trumpet blows, which she will hear through all her reverie !—*Mornings in Florence*.

*Sandro, familiar form of Alessandro, Boticelli's christian name.

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CRITICAL NOTES.

THE BASIS OF ECONOMIC VALUE.

TO obtain a stable and scientific definition of value has always been a great object with economists. Many definitions have been tried, but all have been found wanting in some essentials. If they cover the whole ground, they appear to be too vague and unscientific; if they are definite and scientific the range of application is too limited. The earlier definitions of value looked to an objective or external standard, rather than to a subjective one. Thus Adam Smith, recognising the distinction between value in use and value in exchange, says that exchange value is measured by the trouble of exertion which is required to obtain anything exchangeable, hence he considers labour as the standard of value; a standard still maintained by the socialists. Smith did not apply this standard very rigidly or define it too closely. Ricardo, coming after him and being of a more scientific turn, did apply the standard rigidly, making economic value depend entirely on labour, while the value of labour itself was made to depend on the cost of bringing efficient labourers up to the working age and maintaining their physical power. Thus was determined the famous "iron law of wages." Following the same rigid method, and accepting the Malthusian law of population, many other laws of a very pessimistic character were wrought out and claimed to be as immutable as the laws of physics; hence the epithet 'dismal science' applied by Carlyle. Public experience afterwards proved most of these laws to be quite mutable and in consequence Political Economy fell into considerable disrepute with the masses. A revision of the definition of value became necessary. J. S. Mill, if not the most original yet the most representative economist of the new period, following out a line suggested by De Quincey, changed the standard of value from the hard and fast basis of cost of labour to the flexible basis of relative power in exchange or the mutual influence of all the goods in a free market. Value in use and value in exchange, while quite distinguishable, were no longer so exclusive, for a wider meaning was given to *use*. Use value is the basis of all exchange value, but, assuming this, the really determining factor in exchange value is difficulty of attainment. This comes back to Smith's original ground, but it is with new light, for labour can no longer represent this difficulty. Individual advantage or disadvantage with regard to personal qualities, conditions of nature, artificial arrangements, or accidental circumstances all tend to decrease or increase the difficulty of attainment. The inadequate appreciation of these elements discredited the Ricardian theory of value and all the deductions from it. The same defect must render impossible all the modern

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socialistic deductions from their theory of value on the basis of labour. Still the new theory of value as stated by Mill, was referred to an essentially objective standard—relative power in exchange. One of the consequences of the application of this new standard in a too rigidly scientific manner was the exclusion of the ethical element and the consequent denial that Political Economy is in any sense a moral science. But this strict separation could not be maintained, and was not regarded by those who insisted on it most strongly, as Mill and Cairnes. At present many economists are going to the opposite extreme and forgetting or denying that there is any distinction between economics and ethics. This has produced a great change in the standard and definition of value. The great point with the ethical school is not difficulty of attainment but desire and purpose. In fact the standard is no longer objective but subjective. The transition is at present in progress and is most advanced in Germany, and consequently in the United States. It is undoubtedly due in part to socialistic influence, socialists being particularly devoted to the consideration of what ought to be in the economic life, to the neglect of adequate inquiry as to what is or can be. But the ethical school of economists as distinguished from the socialists would fain be scientific; hence in trying to follow the ethical or purposive element in the determination of values, we have an elaborate balancing of pleasure and pains present and future, certain and uncertain, high and low, in fact a re-construction of the hedonistic calculus which involves the presentation of qualitative distinctions in a qualitative form. Now it is quite true that the pleasure which one derives from a fine picture or a well written book, and which is purely qualitative, may largely determine the price which one will pay for such things, but it gives no ground for determining with any accuracy worth mentioning, the amount of pleasure or satisfaction one gets for a given amount of money, or how much money one will spend to get a certain kind of pleasure. Yet so eminent an economist as Professor Marshall of Cambridge, claims that demand schedules may be made out for individuals and groups on this basis. In so doing he asserts to begin with that each several want is limited, which is true only of the simpler animal wants for a given time, but is wholly untrue of the distinctively human wants. Hence he is mistaken in saying quite generally that every increase in the quantity of a thing which a man gets produces a diminishing pleasure. His law of diminishing utility or pleasure, which is so very important in his theory of value, is, therefore, true only of the barest necessaries of life and is no general economic principle. The fact is, that while no man purchases anything without some purpose in view, the purpose has no definite relation to the price he pays for it,

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neither has the pleasure which he derives from it any definite relation to the price. Purpose and pleasure or satisfaction, while indispensable to economic value, can be no standard for it. The standard is still relative difficulty of attainment, and must be sought not through physiological psychology or the hedonistic calculus, but through the actual experiments of the world's commercial life. Alter the world's fashions, pursuits, or ideals and you have altered many economic values, but still the standard is difficulty of attainment. A. SHORTT.

THE BELL COLLECTION OF PAMPHLETS AND REPORTS.

THROUGH the generosity of Mr. J. Jones Bell, of Toronto, and Dr. Robert Bell, of Peterboro, the university library has recently come into possession of the very valuable collection of pamphlets, early government reports and other works relating to Canada, formerly in the library of their father, the late Robert Bell, of Carleton Place. Mr. Robert Bell was a son of the Rev. Wm. Bell who came to Canada in 1817, ordained by the presbytery of Edinburgh as minister to the presbyterians of the new Perth settlement, and who afterwards wrote a very interesting and valuable book on the country, entitled *Hints to Emigrants in a Series of Letters from Upper Canada;* the book was published in Edinburgh in 1824 and is now quite rare. The Rev. Wm. Bell was himself a collector of pamplets, mainly on religious subjects, and several of the rarest specimens in the collection of his son were from his library. His book shows that he was a gentleman of literary taste with a turn for careful and accurate observation, qualities which are the special characteristics of his descendants. His son, Robert Bell, was early interested in books and became an ardent collector. He seems to have carefully preserved every Canadian pamphlet which came into his possession during a long life. He was a member of parliament for about nineteen years, during the forties and fifties, when such interesting questions as the settlement of the claims arising from the rebellion losses, the abolition of seigniorial tenure in Lower Canada, the secularization of the Clergy Reserves and several interesting educational problems were occupying the attention of parliament and the country. He was thus in a position to obtain a great number of

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official and semi-official publications with regard to these matters, all of which were carefully preserved and now form part of the collection which will henceforth bear his name.

Fortunately, too, his interests in records extended even to newspapers; his subscription list was unusually large, and every number was neatly and carefully filed. His collection included the *Daily Globe* from 1851 to the present time, the *Montreal Witness* from about the same date, and local papers from Brockville, Carleton Place, Lanark, Perth, Almonte and Ottawa. The files of the *Globe* and *Witness* form part of the collection which come to the university, and will become increasingly valuable as time passes, for they cover the most interesting period in our national development. Other elements of note in the collection are complete sets of the *Canadian Journal* and the *Journal of the Board of Arts and Science*, also the *Educational Journal* from its first issue. But the collection of pamphlets is undoubtedly the most interesting of all, especially from the historical and bibliographical points of view. As nearly as I have been able to determine, there are about thirty-five pamphets printed in Upper Canada before 1840 which are not at present known to exist in any other collection; though doubtless there exist other specimens of some of them which may yet be made known. In a future number of the QUARTERLY I expect to give a more detailed account of the rarer pamphlets with their titles. Among them, several were printed at Ancaster and Lanark before 1830, and others at Perth, Brockville and Carleton Place during the thirties. Taken in connection with the Snodgrass and Morris collections previously in the library, it is quite certain that Queen's has now the largest collection of early Ontario pamphlets anywhere to be found.

A. SHORTT.

CURRENT EVENTS.

THE Conference sitting in Ottawa is perhaps the most significant symbol that we have yet had of the width and strength of British sentiment. The first Conference was held in London, in 1887. When Lord Salisbury expressed the hope that it would be the first of a long line, no one dreamed that the second would be held in Ottawa. But when the Imperial Government declined to call a second, the Colonies took the matter into their own hands and the Mother Country accepted a place at the childrens' table. Great Britain, the Australias, New Zealand, South Africa, all send their accre-

International Conference.

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dited representatives to meet, in what was a North American backwoods village fifty years ago, to consider affairs of common interest and Imperial importance.

Yesterday, the prediction of such a gathering would have been regarded as the utterance of a lunatic. But how often is the imagination of yesterday the fact of to-day!

Now that the Conference has convened from the ends of the earth, what will it do? Nothing spectacular, we may be quite sure. It has not met to draw up a Constitution or to make an Empire, but because the British Constitution is accepted and the Empire made, and it is felt that a sure basis thus exists for common action. The action may apparently amount to little, but one step at a time is a good rule. That Australians, New Zealanders, Afrikanders, Englishmen and Canadians are now here in Session, and that Ottawa is thereby at present in a sense the centre of the British Empire is in itself a fact of sufficient importance, to all who can see beyond their own noses, to entitle it to be called epoch-making. *Quod bonum, felix, faustumque sit!*

G.

The Coxey Movement.

NOTHING could be more amusing and occasionally instructive than many of the impressions which were made during the progress of the Coxey movement in the United States. Many professed to see in it the beginning of a revolution compared with which the French affair of a hundred years ago was a mere flash in the pan. Some divines saw in it the hand of God visibly stretched forth to deliver the poor from the tyranny of the rich. Able editors saw in it the possibility of getting cheap and interesting news by which they might turn an honest penny, and accordingly treated it with the awe and gravity necessary to that end. Many of that highly benevolent class of persons known as 'the friends of silver' saw in it a chance to do something for their hardly treated client; for was not Coxey in favour of 'cheap money and lots of it?' Many of the more unstable workmen, out of employment at the time, joined in the march for lack of other work for their idle hands to do, or with a Micawber-like hope that it might be the means of something turning up. The tramps fell into line on general principles. There were also no doubt many in the ranks who had an honest belief in the providential function of government, for which of course they can hardly be blamed, for have not the protectionists in the United States been preaching this doctrine to the working classes for the last thirty years? But when the advance party, under the leadership of the mighty Coxey in person, reached the Capital the general himself was soon in the hands of the common policeman and subjected to a very unromantic process of law for not respecting one of those paltry notices to 'keep off the grass'; as though a man with his head in the clouds could be expected to pick his steps. Moreover the very elements became unpropitious, and when the rain descended and the cold winds blew upon the defenceless Coxeyites for days and nights in succession, those of them who had homes bethought them-

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selves of the poor fun they were having, and repented and turned back; while those who had no homes soon recognised that they would fare better while hunting singly or in couples for the customary shelter and provender of the tramps, as was their wont. Thus the hosts of Coxey melted away like the untimely snow, for they had no real grievance to redress, and no coherent principles, even if mistaken ones, to support. Nevertheless such movements may be dangerous, for if the low, ignorant, and inflammable elements of the population are allowed to assemble and march through the country after the fashion of the Coxeyites, they may become the tools of an abler demagogue than Coxey, and work much damage to law, order and property and cause much bloodshed before being suppressed. A. S.

The Times Letters on Canada.

THAT interesting series of letters on Canada, which appeared in the London *Times* during February and March, while reproducing many of the British stock notions with regard to our colony, is yet in many other respects quite above the average of such letters in information and appreciation of Canadian conditions. The writer evidently undertook his work with a purpose. His purpose was very friendly towards Canada; so friendly, in fact, that in reading the letters one is unpleasantly conscious of a predetermination on the writer's part to make out a good case for us at all hazards. There are two quite distinguishable elements in the letters. There is what the writer knew and was quite prepared to write about the country, before he came; there is on the other hand a good deal that he saw and learned during his stay here. The latter is the new and most valuable element; the former is pretty much the stock notions of a certain large, respectable and influential class of Englishmen who are regular readers of the *Times*. The character of this permanent substratum of idea with regard to Canada makes it quite evident that the country and its capacities are but slightly understood in Britain. This no doubt has something to do with the comparative lack of commercial interest in Canada which has hitherto characterized the British capitalist. The writer of the letters refers to this and seems to see in it nothing unnatural. After pointing out that the Canadian trade with Britain is not more than three per cent of the British foreign and Colonial trade, he says that Britain's interest in Canada is mainly a military one, and a good deal of his friendly efforts in our behalf is directed to showing how highly important we are to the mother country from this point of view. Much after the fashion of our own Mr. Parkin, he outlines for us the glorious destiny of becoming a sort of military store or base of transit and supplies, in men and materials, which will enable Britain to enter upon that great future struggle with the United States in order to protect her commerce, or, more specifically, to prevent the United States war vessels from capturing and destroying their own grain and cotton on its way to British markets, or the goods which are being imported by their own merchants in return for grain and cotton already sold. What

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can be the meaning of the remarkable situation of our chief coal deposits on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts if not that an all-wise providence,—having a mind no doubt to see a first-class fight in the fulness of time,—did long years ago so dispose these coal fields as to insure some such result? While not insensible to the rational force of such circumstantial evidence, especially as worked out in detail by Mr. Parkin, one cannot help hoping that after all these gentlemen may be mistaken with regard to the divine purposes in this matter, and consequently with regard to the destiny of Canada. With regard to another point, intelligent Canadians must be getting tired of finding that so much of their country's claim to distinction rests upon the extent of its surface, that it is thirty-five per cent of the British Empire and so on, when they are conscious that it would be much better for them if three-fourths of that territory were a hundred fathoms under the sea. The remaining fourth would contain sufficient area and variety in soil, climate, mineral store, or other natural wealth to support an indefinitely large number of people and enable them either to fight the Yankees or attain to a high degree of civilization. But the *Times* correspondent discovered during his stay that our country had more than size and coal and the C. P. R. to recommend it, and finally tells the British public that the Canadians are beginning to have ideas of their own, and that the day when 'anything will do for the colonies' is nearly over. He is even under the impression that we are inclined to cull our immigrants. But let no immigrant be alarmed, for this inclination, if it exists in any hard heart, has not yet reached the tender affection of the government. In speaking of the C. P. R., he reverts to the old notion that being important to the military idea it must control our destiny. No doubt we have to acknowledge, in all honesty, that the C. P. R. has obtained in one way or another a very powerful hold on our country; but it is not a fact of which many well informed Canadians care to boast; at the same time it is not true that the C. P. R. has such an overwhelming grasp upon us that our whole future is bound up with it, as the writer of the *Times* asserts. There are several matters in which his lack of acquaintance with local conditions involves him in very curious statements. Thus he innocently quotes Mr. (now Sir Wm.) Van Horne as a chief authority in asserting the upright, virtuous character of the public dealings of the C. P. R. Again, when he wishes to give a special instance of the very liberal and far-sighted enterprise of the Canadian people he is so unfortunate as to hit upon the Chignecto Ship Railway. This he declares appears to him as in many respects a remarkable enterprise, as indeed it must to all those who know anything of its history. He speaks of it and its prospects at considerable length, and in quite a solemn strain, as though it might yet have some connection with the remarkable position of our coal mines on the C. P. R. He evidently believes that this railway was seriously intended to carry ships and is quite unconscious of its function in carrying elections. At the same time he is not without some knowledge of the situation in the maritime provinces, for he says that probably in no other part of the world

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has so much effort been directed towards extracting prosperity from the political machine. Yet, notwithstanding the unconscious irony and subtle humour of the letters, their imported information and the evident desire of the writer to foster the reproduction on this side of the Atlantic of the European military curse, the letters contain many shrewd observations and offer some sound counsel to both Britons and Canadians. A. S.

Tariff Revision in Canada.

THE progress of tariff revision in Canada and the United States affords a striking object lesson with regard to the natural difficulties of that process. In the United States where the protection is greater, and where the infants undergoing the protective process are in the full vigor of manhood, the task is naturally more difficult than in Canada where the protection is lighter and the interests involved are not so overwhelmingly strong. In the United States, too, the Wilson Bill proposed a much more radical measure of reform than the very modest reductions, even as first reported, which are being made at Ottawa. The Wilson Bill, however, is practically a thing of the past, and something else to take its place is in process of formation somewhere in the realms of Chaos and Night. The Ottawa measure, after being in commission for about a year and a half, has evidently turned out to be of a very mild and cheese-paring character. There is a good deal of re-arranging of words and terms but a very limited reduction in protection. However, if a similar reduction were to be made each year for the next ten or fifteen years the Ottawa plan would be much the better, as it would give no shock to industry and would enable a large amount of unprofitably employed capital to find more useful investments. It would also enable those native and natural industries which are perfectly able to support themselves to learn the freedom and independence of being 'off the parish.' We fear however that Messrs. Foster and Bowell are not likely to continue the good work, and are no doubt congratulating themselves on having got rid of tariff revision for another ten years. Indeed one cannot but sympathise with them, for the normal condition of a tariff reform is one of steady growth and development. To have checked this tendency and even reversed it a little is no slight acccomplishment. The wards of the government must indeed have been alarmed by the possibility of suffering worse things at the hands of their victims to have made what concessions we find. Here we have the difficulty of obtaining tariff revision at the hands of protectionists; in the United States we find the difficulties of obtaining it at the hands of professed tariff-reformers. The Democratic party is pledged, as a party, to lower the tariff, and there is little difficulty with the House of Representatives whose members were elected on this basis. But members of the Senate are not always elected on questions of national concern. To understand the composition of the United States Senate one has to study the special conditions of party and machine politics in each of the individual

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States. Democratic senators are therefore not always sure to support the party's national policy. Moreover, the senators are found to be socially and commercially more nearly in sympathy with the limited class enjoying the fruits of protection than with the mass of people who furnish the fruits. The Senate thus becomes the special field of operations for those who are opposed to tariff reform. Those urging tariff reform have little to offer; they ask merely to be permitted to retain their own earnings. Those maintaining protection have many things to offer if successful, for what they ask is not their own but the right to levy taxes on others. It is not always safe, nor, in the estimation of those who value social distinction, always good form to offer hard vulgar cash as a convincing argument in favour of protection. But there are a hundred shapes and disguises which wealth may take in passing from one person to another. Politicians have families and friends, social aspirations and hobbies, whose interests can be advantageously placed in a fairly rational argument ending in what is called "a compromise in the general interest." There is nothing strange of course in all this; the only marvel is the calm indifference of the unprotected majority, vaguely conscious now and again that someone's ox is being gored, but each one trusting that it is not his and not knowing well how to find out whose it may be. A. S.

THE progress of discovery in electricity has been so rapid during the past fifteen years that it is possible only for the specialist to keep pace with it. It is within this period that electric lighting, electric railways, and the telephone have come into common use. The great discovery of Herz, that electricity is of the same nature as light and heat dates only a few years back; as also does Tesla's discovery of the wonderful properties of currents of electricity alternating with great rapidity. In Tesla's discovery there is a suggestion of a universe infinite and eternal with regard to its energy. Rapidly alternating currents of enormous tension can be discharged through the human body without injury, when currents of of the ordinary sort flowing continuously would cause not merely instant death but extensive destruction of the tissues. We might live in a world of enormous electric energies without suffering any harm, provided the currents were always of the kind experimented with by Tesla. The destructive power of ordinary high tension currents is fortunately not very commonly experienced, so carefully are such currents insulated and guarded by the electrical engineers of to-day. In the museum of the Columbia School of Mines they show a dynamo of an older pattern which (according to the laboratory boy) was so fatal to meddlesome students that it was found necessary to replace it with one of a more modern pattern, so constructed that there was no danger of discharging the current through the body by touching the dynamo with the hand.

Recent Electrical Science.

Perhaps the most interesting recent application of electricity is to the production of high temperatures in the electrical furnace.

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Moissan's electrical furnace, recently exhibited at a soiree of the Royal Society, London, is thus described in *Nature* (May 10th): "The furnace consists of a parallelopiped of limestone having a cavity of similar shape cut in it. This cavity holds a small crucible, composed of a mixture of carbon and magnesia. The electrodes are made of hard carbon and pass through holes cut on either side of the furnace, meeting within the cavity. "In this little furnace, by means of a current of electricity (600 amperes and 60 volts) a temperature of about 6300° Fahrenheit has been obtained, a temperature at which lime not only fuses but actually boils and passes off as vapour. M. Moissan has also succeeded in vaporising charcoal and causing it to combine with silicon so as to produce crystals resembling diamonds in hardness and lustre. Iron, at the temperature of the electrical furnace, dissolves large quantities of carbon, and when it is suddenly cooled by plunging it into molten lead, part of the carbon crystallises as small diamonds. It is quite probable that, in the near future, this process may be so perfected as to render easy the conversion of charcoal into large diamonds. The diamond would in this event become valuable not so much as an ornament but as material for the manufacture of boring, cutting, and grinding implements.

The electrical furnace promises to become useful in the reduction of metals from their ores. It has lately been applied to the production of aluminum directly from its oxide, and attempts have been made to use electrical energy as a source of heat for the reduction of iron. Since the beginning of this century, when Sir Humphry Davy made the first important discovery in electro-chemistry, and, working at moderate temperatures, prepared the beautiful and interesting metals of potash aud soda, no advance along this line has excited such keen interest as these high temperature experiments of M. Moissan.

W. L. G.

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THE COLLEGE.

REPORT OF THE PRINCIPAL TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

For year ending April 25th, 1894.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS.

I HAVE much pleasure in reporting that the quiet and steady increase in our numbers, which has marked our history for more than twenty years, continues. The number of undergraduates in medicine shows a decrease, the reason of this being the fact that the Trustees of the Women's Medical College came to the conclusion last Autumn that it would be unwise to continue it in operation any longer, as women can now pursue their studies either in Montreal or Toronto, and as the total number is still inadequate to maintain even one teaching faculty in a state of efficiency. To give an opportunity to the women of Canada to obtain a medical education without expatriating themselves was their object from the first. Having accomplished this, and having had the pleasure of seeing Toronto and Montreal follow their example, they felt that it would be undignified to continue an unnecessary and wasteful competition. They resolved, therefore, to close the College and advise their students to betake themselves to Toronto or Montreal. Having gained the substance, they felt no desire to spend time and money in chasing the shadow. In consequence of this action, the undergraduates in Medicine now reported belong entirely to our own Medical Faculty. Notwithstandlng this loss of one class, our total number of students this Session is 456 as against 444 the previous Session; viz.,

Undergraduates in Arts	258
Extra Murals in Arts	33
General Students in Arts	31
Post-Graduates in Arts	15
Undergraduates in Law	4
Undergraduates in Medicine	107
Undergraduates in Theology	27
	475
Or allowing for double registrations	456

DEGREES CONFERED.

At Convention, degrees in course were conferred as follows:—

In Medicine 18.

In Theology (5 Testamurs and 2 B. D's) 7.

In Law 3.

In Arts 44, of whom 27 Bachelors and 17 Masters of Arts.

The graduating class in Arts is by far the largest that Queen's has ever had. The reasons are that the class of 1894 was large and also

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that many who belonged to 1893 took a five years course in order to try for first-class Honours and the Degree of A.M. This was anticipated in my last year's report.

In addition to the degrees in course, five degrees were conferred, *honoris causa*. The Senate thought the following personages worthy of this distinction and accordingly conferred on them the Degree of LL.D.;—His Excellency the Earl of Aberdeen, Governor-General of Canada; His Honour John Christian Schultz, Governor of Manitoba; J. Loudon. A.M., President of the University of Toronto; The Honourable H. G. Joly De Lotbiniere, Ex-Premier of the Province of Quebec; Charles Macdonald, C.E., New York, the eminent bridge-builder, and like Dr. Schultz, an old alumnus of Queen's.

SCHOLARSHIPS.

Perhaps no university in Canada, certainly not one of the leading universities, is so poorly supplied with scholarships as Queen's. We have some for matriculation, but scarcely one open to competition during any part of the undergraduate course. We had six known as "Foundation," but they were taken out of revenue and the Finance Committee have been obliged to discontinue them. What makes this regrettable is that few students of Queens are the sons of the rich. The fact that scholarships cannot be obtained during their undergraduate course prevents a number of promising young men from coming to Queen's, even when they are strongly drawn here by other considerations. His Excellency, Lord Aberdeen, has given us, in addition to the usual Governor-General's matriculation scholarship, another tenable for four years. I trust that others may follow his example, and I even take the liberty of pressing our lack on those who are older, but not truer, friends than His Excellency. If they communicate with me I shall be most happy to go more fully into detail with regard to the subjects of study that may most appropriately be selected, the amounts needed for establishing different kinds of scholarships, and other particulars. Last year, Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 accepted our nomination of N. R. Carmichael, A.M., for their scholarship of £150 sterling. He is now pursuing his stndies in Johns Hopkins University, in Electrical Engineering, and the Senate has recommended him to the Commissioners for another year. We are fairly well provided with scholarships in the Faculty of Theology, but would be thankful if a few more congregations followed the example of St. Andrew's, Toronto, and St. Paul's, Hamilton, and linked their names with this Faculty in a way so appropriate and helpful to students of Theology.

SCHOOL OF MINES AND AGRICULTURE.

Since my last report, this School has become a reality, and work has commenced in the Mining department. The Governors hope before another year to open departments in Dairying, Veterinary and Navigation. Besides the annual grant from the Provincial Legislature, the Kingston City Council has voted the old Collegiate Institute property, valued at $20,000, for the use of the School; and the Governors

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now intend to apply for grants in aid to the neighboring County Councils, and they have applied to the Dominion Government for assistance to the department of Navigation. Unless these applications are favorably entertained the School can hardly be permanent, but its success already has been so decided and its prospects of public usefulness are so great, that the municipalities are not likely to refuse a reasonable measure of assistance, while the department of Marine and Fisheries has long had the sanction of Parliament to assist in defraying the expenses of teaching Navigation.

The Governors of the School elected Dr. Goodwin as Professor of Chemistry, with the view of not being forced to compete with the University for students of Chemistry. It is important to them to get the largest possible revenue from fees. They elected, as their Professor of Mineralogy and Metallurgy, Mr. W. Nicol, M.A., who did good service as a lecturer under Dr. Goodwin, and whose term of service with us had expired. Having appointed a lecturer in Geology and Petrography, the Senate decided, in anticipation of action to be taken by this Board, that Professor Fowler should devote himself entirely to the subject of Botany. Students who desire to attend classes in Chemistry, Mineralogy or Geology, can henceforth take those subjects in the Mining School. As I have frequently pointed out before, the subjects mentioned can be equipped by the Mining School better than by the University, and at the same time its Governors secure by their action a large body of students. The University, on the other hand, though it loses fees, is relieved of two subjects or departments, one of which it undertook recently, and solely in view of the prospect of a Mining School being established.

PROPOSED FACULTY OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE.

The establishment of this independent School of Mining in Kingston has led the Senate to believe that the time has come when Queen's should organise a Faculty to give a theoretical, and, as far as possible, a practical education also, in the various branches of Applied Science. Some of our Students, as well as benefactors, at different times in various parts of the country, have pressed this on my attention, but the Senate felt that the resources of the University were inadequate and that premature extension would be unwise. The increase in the number of our students, the larger demand for professional instruction, and the recent bequests of Mr. Roberts and Mr. Doran, as well as the fact that the staff of the new School is willing to assist, all point in the direction of a movement along those lines that are so popular and so important in our age and in every new country. I submit the syllabus that the Senate has prepared, and call attention to the fact that Prof. Dupuis explained it yesterday to the University Council, and after he went over the proposed courses of instruction in detail, in order to show what we are already doing, and to point out what additional expenditure would probably be required, the Council passed a resolution, unanimously adopting the the scheme and pressing the necessity for immediate action on your consideration.

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The object of this new Faculty being professlonal instruction rather than culture, it is proposed that the matriculation, as in McGill and Toronto, shall be confined poactically to Mathematics, and that a four years course shall lead to the Degree of Bachelor of Science, special mention being made in the diploma of the particular practical department to which the candidate has directed his attention.

Should the Board adopt the recommendation of the Senate and the University Council, a Dean must be appointed as head of the new Faculty. It would be well to request Prof. Dupuis, who is an expert on Mechanism and Engineering, to visit, between the months of May and October, the best Schools of Technology and Practical Science in Great Britain and the United States, and report to the Finance Committee what additions should be made to the staff and laboratories of the College ; the Committee to have power to Act, up to a certain amouut, or within certain limits.

MEDICAL FACULTY.

Last year I had to report the great loss sustained by the University in the death of one of the ablest junior members of this revived Faculty, Dr. William H. Henderson. I am now called on to report the death of one of the ablest ot its senior members, Dr. Thomas R. Dupuis, a man beloved by his students for warmth of heart and geniality of disposition, as well as admired for remarkable powers of exposition. Both vacancies have been filled temporarily. The Nominating Board will probably meet soon to consider the matter and to determine what further changes, if any, have been rendered desirable in the Faculty.

After experience of the working of this Faculty as an organic part of the University, I congratulate the Board on the success of the step that was taken two years ago. There is manifest improvement all round ; in the equipment for teaching, in the tone of the students, in the greater interest manifested in medical education by the graduates, and in the closer relationship of the Professors to the University.

During the past year, the General Hospital has been greatly improved by the addition of a new building, speciallly for maternity cases. I hope next year to be able to chronicle the erection of a modern operating theatre, to take the place of the small room into which the students have now to crowd whenever there are operations. We are doubly interested in the improvements that are being steadily made on the Hospital. They bear on the relief of suffering humanity and the University is directly concerned. We cannot have a first-class Medical Faculty without a first-class Hospital beside it, to which the students have free access.

I reported last year,the receipt of $500, chiefly from the Chancellor, Professors and medical graduates, to pay for new apparatus needed in the laboratories of Professors Knight and Anglin. The Medical Faculty has recently appropriated the sum of $200, specially for bacteriological purposes; and Prof. Knight has received additional subscriptions for ayparatus, to the amount of $80, chiefly from medical graduates and Professors.

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I would respectfully call attention to Prof. Knight's report herewith appended. Now, that some of the medical graduates are helping to equip the Faculty, others, I feel sure, will fall into line. They are no longer asked to aid a private school, but a department of the University, and to do so on that side which appeals to their sympathies and their professional instincts. Their aid will be most welcome, along any of the lines in which it is pointed out that we are still deficient.

FACULTY OF THEOLOGY.

This Faculty also needs strengtening. There is, indeed, an impression in the minds of some of our friends that it has been neglected, and that it has been starved, in order that the Faculty of Arts might be developed. There is no foundation for this impression. We could not have a Faculty of Theology at all unless we had a strong Faculty of Arts. The founders of the University drew no hard and fast line between the two Faculties. They knew that a thorough education in Arts was more important to Ministers of the Gospel than even professional education. At the same time, there is no intention of starving the professional Faculty. The General Secretary was instructed a year ago to collect specially for it and he has had a measure of success One benefactor, Mr. Hugh Waddell, South Monaghan, has promised $5,000 on condition that $20,000 more be raised. A Minister of the Church has promised $100 a year for five years, and a number of smaller amounts have been subscribed. An additional professor could be appointed if the sum named by Mr. Waddell were raised and if the General Assembly's College Fund were increased by an average of $1,000 a year, so that it would amount to the $4,000, considered necessary ten years ago, to pay our present staff. It is true that the Jubilee Fund was raised since, but the part of it that was contributed for Theology went to endow Professor Ross's Chair, which had been started on the faith of subscriptions given for only five years. What is needed now is that the friends of theological education should co-operate with the General-Secretary, Dr. Smith, with that heartiness and *esprit de corps* that has always distinguished them. I ought to mention, also, that he is physically weak, and therefore that volunteer assistance in his work will be greatly appreciated by him. He never spared himself when his health was good and that will now be remembered by some elect souls. His hope is that there are four men or women in Canada who will make up the $20,000 needed. I indulge the same hope and venture to ask, who shall be the first volunteer? Members of the Church have only to compare our theological staff, so far as numbers are concerned, with thatof Halifax, Montreal or Knox, and to remember that thé same work has to be done, in order to understand our need for an additional Professor.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

I reported at length on this work last year and have to state that it has been prosecuted since along all the lines then mentioned; first, with extra-mural students, guided by Professors or correspondence

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tutors; secondly, by means of courses of lectures given, at the request of a large number of the most intelligent Kingston Mechanics, by Prof. Knight and other members of the staff; thirdly, by continuing the courses held in Ottawa, for two years previously, by Professors Shortt and Cappon; and fourthly, by the Theological Alumni Conference, held for ten days in the month of February, at the University.

A few words may be added with regard to the two last mentioned lines. Professor Cappon's class was the largest he ever had in Ottawa, a striking contrast to the down grade law which has generally ruled the University Extension movement elsewhere. It numbered over one hundred, and the members attended with great regularity. Few tried to pass the written examination at the close, because the aim of the great majority of the class is intellectual stimulus, guidance and improvement, without any desire that their progress should be exactly estimated and labelled or without any intention of taking a full University Course. Professor Shortt's class numbered forty-five, a larger number than attended the previous year. Their Excellencies, the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen, manifested an intelligent interest in the work, and the increased attendance this year is no doubt in part due to them. The amount of attention that any University can give to this department of Extension is strictly limited by the number of men on its staff. The "English Universities" can do a great deal, because they have so many fellows and other scholars who are glad to take it up. The Scotish or Canadian Universities can do very little, and it may be added—the demand is by no means so urgent in Canada as it is in England.

The Conference of the Theological Alumni was a great success this year, chiefly owing to the establishment of the Chancellor's Lectureship and the interest taken by all who attended, in Professor Watson's course of lectures on Dante. Profitable courses of study were also conducted by Professor Dyde on the evolution of Greek thought and by the Rev. G. M. Milligan on the Book of Job. The Evening Conference were stimulating and helpful. Papers were read, on the books that had been prescribed beforehand for reading, by Professor Ross, Reverends Dr. McTavish, J. Sharp, D. J. Macdonnell, J. A. Sinclair, R. McKay, and others. The alumni voted unanimously to hold a similar Conference next February. Information with regard to it can be had from their Secretary, Rev. John Young, A.M., Toronto.

BENEFACTIONS RECEIVED OR ANNOUNCED DURING THE YEAR.

The bequest of $40,000 by the late John Roberts, Ottawa, mentioned in last year's report, has been paid. The money has been appropriate to endow the Chairs of Botany and Animal Biology, the Executor of the donor, Mr. John Roberts Allan, generously adding a sufficent sum to enable this to be done. Of the Doran bequest, also mentioned in last year's report, $6500 has been paid in to the Treasurer.

The late John McLennan, By the Lake, Lancaster, noting before his death that there was a considerable deficit in our Revenue, forwarded to the Treasurer his cheque for $200, as a contribution to the

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revenue of the year. There is no truer way of aiding the University than by gifts thrown into its general treasury in this voluntary and unostentatious manner.

I received a letter to-day from Walter R. Macdonald, Barrister, Hamilton, announcing that the late Mrs. Elizabeth Mallock (relict of the late Judge Malloch, Brockville, a tried friend and respected Trustee of Queen's in his day) had bequeathed the sum of $2000 for the purposes of the College, and intimating that the Executors were prepared to pay it on getting a Release in due form.

Nothing additional has been received during the year to endow the Sir John A. Macdonald memorial lectureship on Political Science, commenced by the Hon. Senator Gowan, LL.D.

Dr. Dyde has received promises to the amount of $1200 for a lectureship on Music. This matter is in the hands of a special Committee.

CONCLUSION.

I submit the reports of the Librarian, the Curator of the Museum, the Superintendent of the Observatory, and the Professors of Botany, Animal Biology and Physics. May I again put in a plea for a salary for a Librarian, so that Professor Shortt may be able to devote his whole time to his Chair?

G. M. GRANT, *Principal.*

REPORT ON PHYSICAL LABORATORY.

DURING the past year, besides fitting up the new laboratory in the basement, which has been a great comfort, I have purchased two pieces of apparatus for exact work, viz. a Torricellian apparatus to prove the laws of flow of liquids through different orifices and at different levels (£45), and a Kater's pendulum for determining the exact value of the gravitation—constant in the latitude of Kingston (£6). I have arranged with the makers, Negretti and Lambra of London, to spread the payment over two years. I have added, considerably, also, to the apparatus required for elementary laboratory work, and some apparatus for class experiments.

26 students out of 65 took advantage of the voluntary instruction in the laboratory. Miss Reid who assisted me during the past session did her work well, in spite of the arduous duties she had with Prof. Dupuis. The present arrangement of giving laboratory instruction only in the afternoons might be much improved upon, if it were possible to have an assistant all day in the laboratory. Most of the students could then take advantage of it, and put in at least two hours a week of laboratory work. This would be necessary if extension of laboratory work followed the establishment of a Faculty of Practical Science. Separate rooms for experiments in Heat, Light, and Electricity would be another desirable improvement. The latter two subjects require rooms which can be easily darkened. Indeed, part of the basement was shut off this winter for some experiments in Magnetism

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which required a darkened room. Meanwhile I am glad to say that the room furnished last summer proved a great boon to the students, my assistant and myself.

Receipts, 1893-4—Balance	$ 173 85
From Treasurer (Apparatus fees)	309 00
From Mrs. Cornwall, for cyclostyle materials	1 00
Interest	3 18
	$ 487 03
Expenditure as per accompanying statement	405 99
I. iv. 1894—Balance in bank	$ 81 04

D. H. MARSHALL, *Prof. of Physics.*

REPORT ON BOTANY CLASSES.

The number of students who came up for examination was: Junior Class, 10; First Year Honours, 8; Second Year Honours, 4. Two others attended the Junior Class and one the Second Year's Honours, but failed to appear at examination. Having only the one subject I was able to meet with each Honour Class every day, and since the Christmas holidays have devoted three hours a day to them. We have consequently overtaken a much larger amount of work than ever before, one result of which may be seen in the very high percentages made at the examination.

When Dr. Knight was appointed to the chair of Animal Biology, I handed over to him the microscopes of my department, as they were nearly all constructed for dissecting purposes. As no grant for apparatus was made last April, I found it necessary to obtain from Dr. Knight two of the instruments which formerly belonged to my classes. But the use of only two microscopes for a dozen students necessitates a great loss of time, and the accomplishment of a much smaller amount of work than should be required. During the last few years great changes have taken place in the methods of Botanical study. Histology and Physiology have displaced very much of what was formerly taught, and every student now requires a microscope for his own special work. I trust the Board may see the necessity of furnishing the apparatus required by modern methods of study.

Last year the Board authorized me to collect Mosses and other Cryptogamous plants for Class use. Twenty-one days were spent visiting the different localities between Kingston and the Ottawa river, and though I discovered that this is an exceedingly poor region for Mosses, I secured a sufficient quantity of material to supply our wants for some years. Collections of marine and fresh-water Algae are very much needed. The fine collection of Lichens and Mosses presented to the Herbarium by A. T. Drummond, LL.B., will prove exceedingly valuable, as also the collection of Mosses by T. L. Walker, M.A.

The geological specimens formerly used in the Senior Science Class, and the case containing them, have been transferred to the Science Hall, and a new case of shelves is now required to contain apparatus, specimens, etc., at a cost of about $25.00.

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The following expenses have been incurred and paid. Vouchers can be furnished to the Treasurer :

1893, Oct. 10,	Small pieces of Apparatus	$ 3 19
1894, Jan. 25,	Robertson Bros., account.....	3 75
Feb. 12,	Microscopic mounts	10 00
		$ 16 94

APPARATUS NEEDED FOR NEXT SESSION.

8 Microscopes, with accessories	$ 240 00
1 Hand Microtome and 2 Knives	13 00
1 Camera Lucida	8 00
2 Hand Magnifiers, No. 87, 1 Eye Piece Micrometer, 1 Stage Micrometer, Reagents, &c	9 50
Slides and Glass covers	5 50
Approximate amount	$ 276 00

JAMES FOWLER, *Professor of Botany.*

ANIMAL BIOLOGY.

The attendance in the junior class during the session was 7 ; in the honor class, 17 ; Extra-murals, 2 ; in histology, 36 ; and in physiology, 55. The total attendance, not counting any student twice, was 81. The decrease in the junior class may be due to the fact that the sub-division of chairs, having increased the difficulty of the honor courses in natural science, is deterring students from selecting honor courses along these lines.

In my last report I pointed out that the principle upon which I endeavored to carry on my work was, that the study of *form*, or anatomy should precede or accompany the study of function or physiology. This plan is the historical, and is followed by all the best teachers of biology. A man must understand the construction of a machine before he can understand its working. The same is true in biology. A student, whether in arts or medicine, must first understand the gross and minute anatomy of an animal before he can fully understand its physiology.

I have had no difficulty in shaping my work in accordance with this principle, in so far as the art students were concerned during the past two sessions. The action of the Medical Faculty in placing animal biology upon their curriculum will also enable me to give to medical students hereafter, elementary instruction in the comparative anatomy of both vertebrate and invertebrate animals, thus thus preparing them to understand the more elementary principles of physiology and general biology during the remainder of the session. The change will harmonize the work of the medical students with that in arts, and give unity to my work. I shall re-model my course in junior biology so as to adapt it to the wants of both classes of students.

The medical faculty has appropriated $200.00 for the purpose of supplementing our apparatus for teaching bacteriology. The teaching of this subject has in part been assigned to me. This and the practical work in biology in the junior class will entail additional

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labor. I must therefore ask that ten additional microscopes be bought, so that the double time and labor which I have been expending on histology, through lack of microscopes, may be avoided. The small room at the south side of the medical museum should be set apart for work in bacteriology, because there is always more or less danger in cultivating and manipulating the micro-organisms of contagious diseases, and it would be unsafe to do such work in an ordinary biological laboratory.

In view of the fact that the first graduation under the extended curriculum (5 years) of the Ontario Medical Council will take place in 1896, it would be well for the University to develop her equipment for teaching pathology and physiology so as to offer to her graduates of that year, and succeeding years, an opportunity of completing in Kingston their final year in medicine. I believe that 8 or 10 of our graduates will want to do this post-graduate work. If they were charged a fee of $100 for laboratory privileges and assistance, the income would justify the erection of a new building, or an addition to the existing one—and solely devoted to research in physiology and pathology. Toronto and Montreal are preparing to offer facilities for such post-graduate work.

I have to acknowledge indebtedness to R. E. Sparks, D.D.S., for a pair of injection forceps; to R. M. Horsey, Esq., for a week's gratuitous instruction in taxidermy to my honor students, and to the Hon. J. M. Gibson, Provincial Secretary, and William Harty, M.P.P., for a valuable donation of a dozen copies of the Ontario Fish and Game Commission report to the laboratory library.

To Prof. Dupuis I am indebted for advice and assistance in many ways. His oxy-calcium lantern and lantern transparencies I used often last winter, and now that a dark room for photography has been provided, I hope to use the lantern still more extensively in teaching anatomy and physiology.

Prof. Virchow, who worked in our laboratory last May and June, sent me a few days ago a valuable little set of dissecting and histological instruments.

In conclusion, I beg leave to submit the following recommendations:

1. That the changes mentioned in my first report be made in the room used for histology, pathology and museum; cost $150.

2. That ten large new microscopes, and four small dissecting microscopes be provided; cost about $300. All the older large microscopes should be offered for sale to students at the close of next session.

3. That the laboratory lockers be provided with full sets of apparatus for the microscopic examination of fresh and prepared tissues, in view of the practical work to be hereafter done in the junior class. This apparatus, as well as the dissecting material, can be procured from the ordinary apparatus and laboratory fees

4. That additional apparatus, models and skeletons for teaching comparative anatomy and physiology be purchased in France or Germany, at a cost of $200.

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5. That a glass cabinet, similar to one of those in the physics apparatus room, be procured, in which to keep the physiological apparatus bought last year in Britain.

A. P. KNIGHT,
Professor of Animal Biology.

THE MUSEUM.

In the department of geology and mineralogy a number of additional specimens of rocks and minerals have been added to the collection, and a number have been transferred to the School of Mining. My visit to Michigan last summer was not so successful as I had anticipated, owing to the fact that visitors to mining districts are not allowed to pick up anything of any value—everything, worth having, is secured by dealers or their agents and held for sale.

The cases in the Zoological department were emptied last Summer—backs put into them and the shelves painted. The specimens were all re-arranged and now present a much better appearance than formerly. Mr. R. M. Horsey very kindly undertook the work of arranging the birds according to the present ornithological classification, and also mounted a fine specimen of a hawk caught in the Science Hall. A fine collection of 25 bird skins, nicely prepared, was received from W. T. McClement, M.A., and a mounted hawk from the late David Nicol.

Former students have offered to procure specimens of bird skins, if the board would pay the expense of mounting. If the Curator were authorized to spend some fixed amount for this work our collection could be largely increased.

No additional mammals have been received.

At the last meeting of the Board I was authorized to procure a case for preserving insects. Shortly afterwards the Government Entomologist at Ottawa offered to make up for the College as complete an arranged collection as possible of the insect fauna of the Province, upon the condition that the College would pay for the case to contain them. This seems to me a much better arrangement, and I hope that the treasurer will be authorized to pay the bill when presented.

The Herbarium has been greatly increased in usefulness by the large collection of Mosses and Lichens presented by A. T. Drummond, LL.B., and a collection of 120 species of Mosses from T. L. Walker, M.A. A large bundle of plants was received last summer from the Agricultural College, Michigan, and another during the winter from the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis, with the promise of another in exchange this summer. Nearly 1000 sheets have been mounted since last spring. The collections made by the Curator last summer furnished a number of new specimens.

Expenses during the year, $42.75.

Amount of grant last year, $30.00

The usual grant of $30.00 will probabably cover expenses this year, as no new paper or jars will be required.

JAMES FOWLER, *Curator.*

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THE LIBRARY.

During the past year 726 volumes have been added to the Library from the following sources:—

Books purchased	576 volumes
Books donated:—	
U. S. Government	13
Dominion Government	17
Ontario Government	20
New Zealand Government	4
Royal Society of Edinburg	3
Institution of Civil Engineers	2
Messrs. Macmillan & Co, London	25
Dr. Jardine, Prince Albert	19
Mrs. E. Drummond, London, Eng.	13
Miss Penner, Kingston	11
A. T. Drummond, Montreal	4
Dr. McKay, Formosa	1
Dr. Thompson, Sarnia	1
E. R. Beuper	1
W. W. King, Kingston	1
Chas. Forshaw	1
Miscellaneous pamphlets, etc	14
	726

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE:—		
Balance from last year	$	142 42
Received from Rev. K. Grant, D.D., Trinidad		48 40
Received from examination fund for acct paid		15 28
Regular receipts from the Treasurer		1261 00
	$	1467 10
Total Expenditure		1322 64
Balance on hand	$	144 46

Owing to the recent changes in the Tariff providing for the free admission of books for college libraries. our slender income will be saved the previous annual drain of $100 to $125. Still it is found that owing to the growth of new departments and the extension of work along several historical lines, the Library fund is totally inadequate to provide necessary working material. It would be very desirable if a special fund could be obtained to put the Library on a working basis with reference to some of the younger historical and scientific departments. ADAM SHORTT, *Librarian.*

OBSERVATORY REPORT.

A course of Elementary Lectures on Descriptive Astronomy has been delivered during the past session by Professor Dupuis and myself to the Junior Class in Physics, and essays and examinations on the subject have been required from the students. A larger Senior Class than usual have been at the same time instructed within the Observatory itself in the practical applications of the science and the use of the instruments employed.

The different instruments have been kept in good order, and it is proposed duriug the summer to make some important additions to their equipment. I have every reason to be satisfied with my assistant, Mr. S. A. Mitchell. JAMES WILLIAMSON,

Director of Observatory.

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VOL. II No. 2

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

OCTOBER, 1894

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Business Editors.

T. J. THOMPSON. — W. J. HERBISON.

All business communications should be addressed to the Sec.-Treas.,

T. J. THOMPSON,
BOX A,
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SESSION 1893-4.

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The Fortieth Session commences on Tuesday, October 3rd, 1893.
Further information and Calendar may be had from the Dean, FIFE FOWLER, M.D., or DR. HERALD, Secretary, Kingston, Ont.

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QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

VOL. II. OCTOBER, 1894. NO. 2.

All articles intended for publication, books for review, exchanges,—and all correspondence relating thereto—should be addressed to the editors, Box A, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.

EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN KINGSTON AND VICINITY.

IT was in 1783 that Kingston was first settled by those who speak the English tongue. That was twenty years after Canada was confirmed by treaty to Great Britain, and nearly ten years before Upper Canada became a separate colony. It is said that the first child of British parentage was born here in 1783. The name of the child was Clark and there are descendants of his existing here still.

It seems strange at first sight that for more than thirty years after the beginning of British settlement here, the traces of Presbyterians, so far as public records go, are so meagre. That there were Presbyterians among the U. E. Loyalists who settled in Kingston and the district, there is no doubt, but for a generation there was no organization as a Church. Very early the Anglicans entered the field, their way being made smooth by Government patronage. The first rector, Dr. Stuart, was not dependent on his hearers for support, and this has often been the case with his successors. Strangely enough, he as well as the first prelate in Upper Canada, were brought up in the Presbyterian faith. The father of Dr. Stuart was a sturdy Irish Presbyterian, and as is well known, Bishop Strachan was of similar origin. Before the end of last century the Methodists were here in two distinct bodies, British and American. More than twenty years of the present century passed away, as we shall see, ere a Presby-

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terian congregation was organized and a minister settled over it.

It is not generally known that the Rev. John Bethune who afterwards was twenty-eight years minister of Williamstown, in Glengarry, was here in the winter of 1783-4. The regiment of which he was chaplain, the 84th Highland Emigrant, was quartered on Carleton Island, and some of the men were in Fort Frontenac. The minutes of St. George's Vestry testify that Mr. Bethune visited the Fort at the time and officiated at a marriage there, thus performing the first recorded act of the Protestant ministry in Kingston. The Presbyterians may thus trace their genealogy to the very beginning of British life here. Mr. Bethune was no ordinary man. In the early part of the Revolutionary War he had been chaplain to the troops in the Carolinas, had been taken prisoner, and lost all that he had. Then when the 84th was enrolled in Nova Scotia he became chaplain of it until its disbandment in 1784. Next he is heard of as residing near Oswegatchy. In 1786 he founded St. Gabriel Church in Montreal, the oldest congregation of our faith in that city. Next year he moved to Williamstown where he spent the rest of his life, a period of twenty eight years. Here among the Highland settlers Mr. Bethune built up and consolidated Presbyterianism so that in few parts of Canada is it comparatively stronger. His influence was felt for good in a wide region. He died in 1815.

The next minister that was settled in Eastern Canada, but west of where Mr. Bethune lived and laboured, was the Rev. John Ludwig Broeffle of the Reformed Dutch Church of the United States. There is a fine testimony on record as to the faithfulness of this minister in circumstances that were very trying. Like others in pioneer days he had to endure great labour to bring consolations of the Gospel to those that were in scattered settlements over a wide region, and in addition he was very poorly supported. It is said that his means never exceeded one hundred dollars per annum. He died in 1815, the year in which Mr. Bethune died.

It was in 1798 that the Dutch Classes of Albany commissioned the Rev. Robert M'Dowall and sent him into the infant colony. When he had laboured on this side of the St. Lawrence for a time he was pressed to make Elizabethtown, now Brockville,

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his headquarters, but in 1800 he agreed to make Fredericksburg, Ernestown and Adolphustown his special charge, while for many years he exercised a general oversight from Brockville to Toronto. To us in Kingston Mr. M'Dowall, during the first generation of British life, is far more than any other in tracing out the foundations of Presbyterianism and in rearing the first few courses of the building that was slowly but solidly erected. During many years of the early period of his ministry in Canada he was the only one of the Presbyterian Church in the neighbourhood. His ability and zeal are so well known that he needs no eulogist. Earnestly and anxiously he watched by the cradle of our faith here, giving such service as he could, seeing that his diocese was so extensive. The record that he kept of Marriages and Baptisms is in the College here and is a mine of information to the descendants of the first settlers on the Bay of Quinte. There is a Kingston list of baptisms, such names as Graham, Forsyth, and Horning being among them. It is to be feared that some of his successors have not been so accurate and methodical in keeping their records. It may go without saying that his toils were enormous as he went from place to place, generally on foot, sometimes it may be in a canoe. The lake shore furnished a well beaten track, and fortunately there were no rivers of any great dimensions to swim across. There was opposition to encounter, but he was not easily daunted. One of the old inhabitants up the Bay tells that on one occasion when leaving Kingston, a gang of young bloods planned to give the Presbyterian preacher a scare that would prevent the dissenter, as they called him, from further disturbing the peace of the ecclesiastical aristocracy here. They followed him out of the village some distance apparently for the purpose of giving him a physical shaking up. He did not wait for the attack of his would-be assailants however, but turning suddenly upon them he gave them such a payment in their own coin that he got no more annoyance from that quarter; and as he could not be bullied into silence, neither could he be bribed to abandon the Church of his convictions. He saw others doing that, he, however, was made of sterner stuff.

For the first quarter of a century of the life of Upper Canada as a separate colony, the Reformed Dutch Church of the States

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was almost the only one that cared for the spiritual interests of our people here. The brethren that directed the missionary energies of that Church deserve to be held in grateful remembrance by the Presbyterian Church in Canada of the present day. It was a timely as well as precious service that was rendered until the Churches of the mother land awakened to some sense of what they ought to do. Many Missionaries were sent over for a time, but most of them returned after a season. It remained for Mr. M'Dowall to cast in his lot permanently here and to give a ministry of over forty years to the region of which Fredericksburg was the centre.

In 1811 the Rev. Wm. Smart came and settled in Brockville, and in 1817 the Rev. Wm. Bell came to Perth. Both of these were Scotch, but both had lived in London for a time and had become acquainted there. Indeed the former had got his professional training in London. Both came out under the auspices of the Secession Church of Scotland. They proved themselves to be the right kind of men for the work that was to be done here, and they left their mark behind them in Eastern Canada. Mr. Bell was the father of the Rev. George Bell, LL.D., of Kingston.

The year after Mr. Bell's arrival the Presbytery of the Canadas was formed. Of this Presbytery Messrs Smart, Bell and others that were settled between here and Montreal were members.

In 1820 the Rev. Robert Boyd came from Ireland, and settled in Prescott where and in the surrounding region he laboured for the rest of his life. He had a long, laborious and useful ministry. He was known at a later date as the Rev. Dr. Boyd.

With these notices of the origin and progress of our Church in the region around, we go on to trace the steps, so far as known, that were taken in Kingston itself. And first of all what may be said of the people that were here a century ago? Where did they come from? of what race were they? for the answer to such questions suggests somewhat as to Church connection. The Army and Navy were represented here from the very first. Obviously there would be changes from time to time, and it was inevitable that soldiers and sailors of the Presbyterian faith would be stationed here. It may have been that regiments or parts of regiments that are distinctively Scotch in character were

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sent here. It is a matter of fact that some of that complexion were in Kingston, years before the first St. Andrew's Church was built. Then there were the U. E. Loyalists that were among the first colonists, if they were not exclusively the first, in the village and neighborhood. Some of these were British and some Dutch in origin, and it is certain that there were Presbyterians among them. In the early Masonic records that run back, without a break into the last century, there were men high in office, of such names as M'Kay and M'Leod, and these are most suggestive. As we have seen, from the very beginning of this century onward, Mr. McDowall was at hand to keep the fire of our faith burning, or at the very least to prevent it from being quenched until more favourable days would dawn. Lastly, when the stream of immigration set in, there came Scotch and North of Ireland people, the latter known in recent times as Scotch-Irish, and in these were found material for the enlargement of the Presbyterian Church. We know how passionate the attachment of the Scotch and Scotch-Irish was and is to the faith and simple practices which they believe to be Scriptural, founded on or agreeable to the word of God, and also that they were and are ever ready to make sacrifices to obtain for their children, a good common school education. In some cases they waited for years, sometimes patiently and sometimes not very patiently, for ministers to come across the ocean and break the bread of life to them. In the earlier years of their settlement here, with what pathos they sang the lines:—

"My soul is poured out in me,
When this I think upon,
Because that with the multitude,
I heretofore had gone.
With them unto God's house I went,
With voice of joy and praise,
Yea, with the multitude that kept
The solemn holy days."

Then when better times came, when the services they loved and enjoyed became frequent, their voices broke forth into gladsome strains in such lines as:—

"I joyed when to the house of God,
Go up they said to me."

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or

"We'll go into his tabernacles,
And at his footstool bow."

Among the scholars of the school that Mr. Strachan taught at the very beginning of the century were two Hamiltons, uncles of Clarke Hamilton, collector of the port. It was in 1810 that Lieutenant-Col. MacPherson came here with his regiment and he remained here for the rest of his life, having retired from service some years after. He became one of the first elders in St. Andrew's Church. His daughter-in-law and grand-daughters reside now on Princess Street and still keep up the succession in that congregation. In 1816 John Mowat, the father of Sir Oliver and Professor Mowat, came to Kingston and while he lived, well nigh half a century, was a tower of strength to the Presbyterian cause here. In the *Kingston Gazette* of March 10th in the same year the following announcement may be read in the advertising columns :—The Rev. W. Smart will deliver a discourse in the English Church to-morrow, at two o'clock, on the following subject : "The Gospel of Christ adapted to the nature and circumstances of Man." One is tempted to ask whether the Presbyterian ancestry of Archdeacon Stuart had anything to do with the granting of the use of the Church on that Sabbath afternoon, to Mr. Smart and the adherents of the Presbyterian faith in Kingston.

The next year, 1817, is a red letter day in the annals of our Church in Kingston. The present strength and future prospects of the Presbyterians have become so encouraging that a site for a Church is now obtained. That was a step forward of a most important kind. As I pen this article, a copy of the original Crown Land Grant lies before me. In it is described the property conveyed for church purposes. It is bounded on one side by Store street (now Princess), on another by Grove street (now Queen), and on a third by a street running north but not yet named (now Clergy). The names of the grantees are as follows: Smith Bartlett, merchant ; Solomon Johns, merchant ; Archibald Richmond, merchant ; Allan McPherson, merchant ; Samuel Shaw, merchant ; Alexander Pringle, Esquire ; John McLean, Esquire ; Daniel Washburn, Esquire ; Benjamin Olcott, yeoman.

In the designations given to these men are seen the social distinctions of three quarters of a century ago. Comment on that

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is needless, however. There is another line of cleavage which has graver consequences as the years go on. As I read these names for the first time it seemed to me that four of these, the first two and the last two, were of United States origin, in other words of the U. E. Loyalist stock; while the remaining five were Scotchmen by birth. Further investigation leaves me in no doubt whatever as to the correctness of that first impression. From the time that St. Andrew's had a settled pastor the names of the "Yankees" do not appear in it, but some are found in connection with another cause in Kingston, of which more hereafter. I infer that all four went into that cause. The five Scotchmen we will meet again, they are to the "fore" and no mistake in the conduct of congregational affairs. From conversations which I had with the older people I learn that all of the grantees were well known men in those days. The children of Allan McPherson are in the city still. A son was long Emigration Commissioner here. John McLean was better known at a later date as Sheriff McLean. Marshall T. Bidwell served his time with a lawyer named Washburn, possibly the same as one of the grantees. Benjamin Olcott was known as a hotel keeper on Princess street.

It was in that year that the Presbytery of Edinburgh were requested to be Patrons of the congregation which was in process of formation, and an application was made to have a minister appointed at once. The venerable brethren of "Auld Reekie" took time to consider before a minister was sent. Things are done more slowly in the old land than in a new country.

In Gourlay's Statistical Account of Canada as bearing on the same date we learn somewhat of the extent of Kingston and some other particulars. "There were then in the town, apart from the township, 450 houses and 2250 souls. There were four churches or meeting houses, one Episcopalian, one Roman Catholic, and two Methodist. There were four professional preachers, one Episcopalian, one Presbyterian, and two Methodists. This did not include the chaplains of the army and navy." We believe Mr. Gourlay was in error when he set down that there was a Presbyterian minister here in 1817; there was none resident until 1822.

In the fall of the same year Mr. Bell, lately settled at Perth, made a visit to Kingston. We would like to quote a most life-

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like description which in his published letters he gives of his journey hither, especially that part from Gananoque, but space forbids us. We let him speak for himself when he arrives here, which he did on a Friday night. "On the following day which was Saturday I waited on a few friends of religion, but was sorry to find that they were very far from being united in their sentiments. . . . . On the Sabbath I preached twice in the Lancasterian School House to a numerous and attentive congregation. On Monday, at the request of some of the friends of religion, I visited them at their own houses, and found some very agreeable company. At that time there were in Kingston an Episcopalian Church, a Roman Catholic Chapel, and a Methodist meeting house. The Presbyterian Churches were not then built, though one of them had been proposed."

Mrs. MacPherson, to whom I have already referred in an incidental way, came here with the Macdonald family in 1821, and she tells me that at that time the Presbyterians had a monthly service in a somewhat indifferent building on Ontario Street, the minister who officiated coming from Cornwall for that purpose. His name was Leith. It is on record that a Mr. Leith, no doubt the same man, taught school for some years in Cornwall early in the twenties. It is of rare interest to meet with one of the age of my informant so bright and vivacious, and to remember that she has been connected with St. Andrew's Church during the whole of its history, extending over seventy years.

In 1821 the Presbytery of Edinburgh acted in accordance with the authority conferred on it some years back. John Barclay is selected for the position and he is ordained to the work of the ministry and commissioned to the exercise of his office in Kingston. He was the son of the parish minister of Kettle. This is not the first time that Kettle and Kingston came into relation. John Strachan who came here to teach more than 20 years before had taught in Kettle, and he brought with him a testimonial from Mr. Barclay's father. The new minister reached here early in the summer of 1822 and entered on his duties. There is evidence to shew that he was well qualified for the duties it fell to him to discharge. He was prudent, zealous, talented and cultured; short as his ministry was he left a permanent impression here. His untimely removal was a great blow to the

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congregation. It was no small tribute to his memory that the people when they applied to their patrons in Edinburgh to send a successor stipulated that the man to be sent be like the minister they had lost. One of the first that Mr. Barclay baptised was David Gibson now a resident on Princess Street.

When Mr. Barclay had been here a few months he took steps to have elders chosen to help him in the spiritual oversight of the congregation. Their names were as follows :—

John McLean, Esq., Col. MacPherson, Anthony Marshall, Esq., Mr. Hugh McDonald, Mr. Samuel Shaw, Mr. John Mowat.

With some of these we are already familiar, we have met them in the course of our narrative. A word or two will be in place as to the others. Anthony Marshall seems to have been an army surgeon when he came to Kingston, and he filled his place in his profession and in church work most efficiently. While the church was in process of erection, he was Secretary-Treasurer of the building Committee. I am told that he removed to Belleville afterwards, and that he died there. Hugh McDonald was the father of Sir John who so lately passed away after having risen to the first place in Canada. The future premier was then about beginning his school work, being six or seven years of age. Hugh McDonald did not live continuously here, he spent some years on a farm up the bay. John Mowat on the other hand gave lengthened and uninterrupted service to the congregation. For nearly forty years he was in office, serving long on the temporal committee as well as in the session. We would not be far astray if we said that during much of that time he was the most influential man in the congregation.

Mr. Barclay was succeeded by Mr. Machar whose life work and character are known to the whole people, and his reputation is known to all. There were many events of great importance in his day, both in Church and State, but our space does not allow us to even mention them. We must hasten on.

Mr. Bell, in another part of his letters, tells of another congregation that was formed soon after Mr. Barclay's arrival. "The second congregation of Presbyterians in Kingston, consists chiefly of persons from the United States." The building where these worshipped, stood on the corner of Wellington and Johnston Streets, now the site of the First Congregational Church.

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Smith Bartlett, one of the original grantees of the St. Andrew's Church property, was one of the first Trustees of the "Yankee" Church, whose official title was the Union Presbyterian Church. So far as I can find the Rev. Horatio Foote was the first minister, he appears to have been here in 1824, 1825, and 1826. Later on the Rev. John Smith, a Scotchman, was pastor, and the last in charge was a Rev. M. Baker who was alive until a very late date. The congregation was broken up because of the troubles of 1837-8. The Bidwell family was one of the most influential in the congregation. The banishment of Marshall T. Bidwell from Canada by Governor Head, nobody will now attempt to justify, it was an act that brought speedy retribution on the perpetrator of it. Some years later the property passed by purchase into the hands of the Congregationalists, and when a stone building came to be erected the old one was moved off. The old one is now St. Patrick's Hall.

I had intended to say something more of the five Scotchmen who were of the original grantees of St. Andrew's Church property, and of the famous constitution they drew up. The article is already too long and so I must forbear.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada, is the second in numbers in the Dominion, and may I venture to say that it is all of that in influence in the best sense. In referring to it we may adapt the words of the Hebrew Bard:—"Thou broughtest a vine; . . . . Thou . . . . planted'st it. Thou prepared'st room before it, and it took deep root, and filled the land. The mountains were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the cedars of God. She sent out her branches into the sea, and her shoots into the river." SAMUEL HOUSTON.

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SOME OF CARLYLE'S HINTS TO THEOLOGY.

TO appreciate Carlyle's work we must have a knowledge of the ideas which were swaying the minds of men in his day, but for our purpose we must be content with a mere suggestion on one or two points of interest.

Carlyle began his work in an age when the selfishness of men was regarded as one of the highest evidences of divine providence, Bentham, Ricardo, Mill, were the names to conjure with, and it was held that if men were let alone, society would run itself. In distinctively theological lines the prevailing view was, that the most which can be said as to the relation of the natural and spiritual is, that there is an analogy between them. Miracle and prophecy regarded as *violations* of nature were considered the main proofs for the existence of a Supreme Intelligence. To express it in one word we may say that God was regarded as an object among other objects. So that when the French astronomer denied the existence of God with the remark—"I have swept the heavens with my telescope and have found no God"—he was only voicing one of the strongest tendencies of the time. Deism, atheism, crude radicalism were in the air; in Ruskin's words "the most startling fault of this age is its faithlessness." It is true that better thoughts than these were moving in the hearts of men, but they had not become dominant, scarcely noticeable indeed, in 1834.

In this vortex or rather co-mingling of vortices Carlyle was the first Englishman to discern and herald the order which was struggling through the disorder. This is but a hint at Carlyle's environment, but it will have to suffice here. It may be added that notwithstanding the changes of the past sixty years Carlyle's criticism of society is still vital, and the light which he brought to the problems of his day may still be a torch to us.

What brought light to him? 1. His conviction that the universe is a *unity*. This may seem a commonplace to us, but Carlyle shows clearly that when this idea dawned upon him it was

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indeed a light from heaven, for it enabled him to see that the whole universe, and therefore the progress of man, is systematic and therefore intelligible. Teufelsdrockh is alone with nature among the mountains, the valleys, streams and lakes are shining in the mellow light of the setting sun—"A hundred and a hun-'dred savage peaks, in the last light of day; all glowing of gold 'and amethyst, like giant spirits of the wilderness there in their 'silence, in their solitude, even as on the night when Noah's de-'luge first dried! Beautiful, nay solemn, was the sudden aspect 'to our wanderer. He gazed over these stupenduous masses with 'wonder, almost with longing desire; never till this hour had he 'known nature, that she was one, that she was his mother and di-'vine. And as the ruddy glow was fading into clearness in the 'sky, and the sun had now departed, a murmur of Eternity and 'Immensity, of Death and of Life, stole through his soul; and he 'felt as if Death and Life were one, as if the earth were not dead, 'as if the Spirit of the earth had its throne in that splendour and 'his own spirit were therewith holding communion* . . . . Or 'what is nature? Ha! why do I not name thee *God?* Art thou 'not the Living Garment of God? O Heaven, is it in very deed, 'He then that ever speaks through thee that lives and loves in 'thee, that lives and loves in me? Fore-shadows, call them 'rather fore-splendours of that Truth and Beginning of Truths, 'fell mysteriously over my soul. Sweeter than dayspring to the 'shipwrecked in Nova Zembla: Oh like the mother's voice to her 'little child that strays bewildered, weeping, in unknown 'tumults; like soft streamings of celestial music to my too exas-'perate heart, came that Evangel. The universe is not dead and 'demoniacal, a charnel-house with spectres: but Godlike and my 'Father."†

Nature for Carlyle is not a dead machine, but a living organism, a symbol and manifestation of God. Much less is humanity a machine moved by the weights of pleasure and pain, but both nature and man imply the divine which is *in* them, and which is finding expression through them, *i. e.*, both nature and man are animated by one principle and have meaning simply as revelations of that principle. No doubt this idea is suggested in the New

*Bk. II. Chap. VI. †Bk. II. Chap. IX. (All the references in this article are to "Sartor Resartus.")

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Testament*, but the church failed to grasp its significance, and it remained practically a dead letter till the Reformation touched it with life by asserting that every man is a priest of the Most High, but it soon became onesided again to such an extent that we find Rousseau asserting that the ideal man is the "Noble Savage." Against this then was of course a reaction but Carlyle was the first in England to give explicitly both sides of the truth in something like true proportion. To him the savage is noble because he has the capacity to become Godlike. He asserts on the one hand that we are "not to count anything human alien," that all true history is sacred history, and that every noble life is an evangel. But on the other hand he declares that it is only in the highest biography that we find the genuine Gospel.

Thus Carlyle helps us not only to believe in the unity of the universe and especially in the unity of man—in the identity of human spirit in all times and places—but he helps us to *see* it, and to see that we, under the conditions might have been such people as history tells of. In this attempt to make the past into a living present, and to enable us to comprehend the inner meaning of that past as it could not be comprehended by those who lived in it. Carlyle did a very great work and helps us to see the organic unity of the universe in actual process of development.

But further, Carlyle declares that the universe is a *spiritual unity*. No doubt it may be said that the idea of the unity of the universe *presupposes* that it is spiritual, but just because it is *presupposed*, it has to be made explicit, and this is the work to which Carlyle devoted all his powers. To bring the spiritual nature of the universe into bold relief is the thought that is always present with him "Nothing that he sees but has more than 'a common meaning, but has two meanings: thus, if in the high-'est Imperial Sceptre and Charlemagne-Mantle, as well as in the 'poorest Ox-goad and Gipsy-Blanket, he finds Prose, Decay, 'Contemptibility; there is in each sort Poetry also, and a rev-'erend worth. For Matter, were it never so despicable, is Spirit, 'the manifestation of Spirit: were it never so honorable, can it 'be more?"†

The idea—for that the universe is a unity and that it is spiritual

*Matt. v: 44,45; xiii: 31,32; Rom. viii: 28. †Bk. I, Chap. X.

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are but phrases of one idea—is the great thought which Carlyle wrought out for his time; but that we may have some hint as to its faithfulness let us look briefly at some of it applications.

(1.) Notice how it leads him to transcend the popular interpretation of Holy Scripture. "Temptations in the wilderness" exclaims Teufelsdrockh "Have we not all to be tried with such? '. . . For the God-given mandate *Work thou in well-doing*, lies 'mysteriously written in Promethean Prophetic Characters in 'our hearts, and leaves us no rest, night or day till it be decipher-'ed and obeyed . . . . And as the clay-given mandate, *Eat thou* '*and be filled*, at the same time persuasively proclaims itself through 'every nerve—must there not be a confusion, a contest before 'the better Influence can become the upper?

'To me nothing seems more natural than that the Son of man when such God-given mandate first prophetically stirs within 'him, and the clay must now be vanquished or vanquish,—should 'be carried of the spirit into grim solitudes . . . . Name it as 'we choose: with or without visible Devil, whether in natural 'Desert of rocks and sands, or in the populous moral Desert of 'selfishness and baseness,—to such temptation are we all called. 'Unhappy if we are not. Unhappy if we are but halfmen, in 'whom that divine handwriting has never blazed forth, all-sub-'duing, in true sun-splendour."*

This is how Caryle deals with Holy Scripture and he does it often; what does he mean by it? He means a great deal more than a happy adaptation of Scriptural language. He wishes to teach us that "no prohecy of Scripture is of any private interpretation", but that it has a universal significance and application. This is Caryle's way of bringing before us the very important idea that the Divine Spirit in man is a fuller and therefore a more accurate revelation of God than any external facts can be—that an experience of the divine life in his own soul reveals more of God to man than any written account can. Indeed Carlyle would say you cannot understand the written account until you have had the experience. It follows from this that prophecy—*i. e.* a forth-telling of the eternal principles of morality which govern men and notions—is a fuller revelation of God than any mere record of events can give. A half-unconscious belief in this view has al-

*Bk. II. Chap. IX.

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ways remained with the church and has led it to prefer the prophetical parts of Scripture to the strictly historical parts; but Carlyle makes the conviction stand out clearly before us that the prophet deals with the Infinite while the historian as such, *i. e.* the mere chronicles of events, deals with the finite.

This idea enables Carlyle to sweep away at one stroke the whole foundation on which men like Voltaire build their objections to Christianity. It enables him to say the external facts to which you object may be inadequate now, external facts by which the divine is bodied forth in one century may become inadequate in the next century, as a manifestation of God, but that is no valid reason for denying the existence of God ; any more than the existence of rude Indian houses in Ontario would prove that there never were any Indians there. All that Voltaire and his followers can do is to show the inadequacy of the old, they have a "torch for burning, no hammer for building." Thus we can say, the sympathy, the self-sacrifice, the love which Jesus taught is now here. If you have felt it in your own heart you cannot but admit that it is divine. Give what account you may of its origin and history, its existence for you is indisputable, and "this is Belief, all else is Opinion."

(2) This idea of the spiritual nature of the universe Carlyle also applies to the question of Inspiration. "Neither shall ye tear 'out one another's eyes, struggling over Plenary Inspiration, and 'such like : try rather to get a little even Partial Inspiration, 'each of you for himself. One Bible I know, of whose Plenary 'Inspiration doubt is not so much as possible ; nay with my own 'eyes I saw the God's-hand writing it."* That is ; if God has spoken to your soul, then for you everything which speaks of God carries its inspiration in it. The divine voice in your own soul is the first requisite and the clearest,—all else is but illustration, "picture-writing to assist the weaker faculty."

(3) The same idea gives Carlyle a new point of view from which to discuss the question of miracles. He saw that there is a truth in the statement that, no Theist can deny the possibility of miracles ; but he carries it farther and asserts that every Theist must admit the omnipresence of the miraculous. To Hume, and all who argue with him that no testimony can establish the

*Bk. II, Ch. IX.

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actuality of a miracle, Carlyle says, "Custom doth make dotards 'of us all . . innumerable are the illusions and legerdemain tricks 'of Custom, but of all these perhaps the cleverest is her knack of 'persuading us that the miraculous, by simple repetition ceases 'to be miraculous . . . Am I to view the stupendous with stupid 'indifference because I have seen it twice, or two hundred, or two 'million times ? There is no reason in nature or in art why I 'should. . . . . Were it not miraculous, could I stretch forth my 'hand and clutch the sun ? Yet thou seest me daily stretch 'forth my hand, and clutch many a thing, and swing it hither 'and thither. Art thou a grown baby then, to fancy that miracle 'lies in miles of distance, or in pounds avordupois of weight ; and 'not to see that the true inexplicable God-revealing miracle lies 'in this, that I can stretch forth my hand at all ?"*

From this it is quite evident that since God reveals himself in the *whole* world, though one object or event may reveal Him more fully than another, yet there can be no absolute division between different objects or events, and no absolute breach in the continuity of the process by which He reveals Himself in everything. When the materialist and the Positivist said "There is no spiritual force, in the universe, known to man", the orthodox apologist replied "Yes there is ; and we have the evidence of miracles for its existence." At this Carlyle shakes his head and says, in substance, "My friend apologist, you mean well, but you are leaning on a broken reed. If God is not in the *whole* world He is nowhere." That is Carlyle maintains not that there are miracles now and then, but that the whole course of nature is miraculous —that the universe is not a mechanical arrangement like a clock, into which the clock-maker may occasionally put his finger, and move the hands back or forward as suits his will ; but that the universe is a living organism which implies a spiritual principle as its origin and its end and without which it would have no meaning.

(4) One other point in Carlyle's application of this spiritual view of the universe may be noted—his belief in the *divinity of man*. "Well said St. Chrysostom with his lips of gold 'the true Shekinah is man' : Where else is the God's-presence manifested

*Bk. III. Chap. VIII.

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not to our eyes only, but to our hearts, as in our fellow-man ?"* If Carlyle does not very often refer to this thought, he carries it with him continually, it is seen in the name *Dio-genes* which he gives to the hero of his first great work "Sartor Resartus." It is this conviction that there is something divine in every man which gives Carlyle his inextinguishable hope for the future. "The Golden Age, which a blind tradition has hitherto placed in the Past, is *Before* us." He believes that the 'Kingdom of Heaven' will surely come, though he often thinks it is a long way off, the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven is usually for him "that *far-off* divine event."

Here we may very easily see one of Carlyle's limitations,—and perhaps his most serious one—he does not give sufficient weight to the truth that the Kingdom of Heaven is already among us. His faith, great as it is is not always strong enough to lift him entirely above

"The weariness, the fever and the fret
Here where men sit and hear each other groan."

His faith did not always overcome the world in which he lived with its follies and sorrows and sins. He was not always able to allow sufficient weight to his own principle that if God is at all, He is in all.

But if it be true as Carlyle holds that the spiritual life is its own evidence then it also contains in itself 'the promise and the potency' of its own triumph. A thought akin to this leads Paul to declare that "all things work together for good." And though Carlyle could not always remain at that high altitude yet his faith is one of the grandest things in him. "Beautiful it is to understand and know that a thought did never yet die, that as thou, the originator thereof, hast gathered it and created it from the whole past, so thou wilt transmit it to the whole Future." And this is just his way of expressing the optimism of Emerson

"One accent of the Holy Ghost
The heedless world hath never lost."

JOHN SHARP.

*Bk. I. Chap. X.

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DANTE AND MEDIEVAL THOUGHT.

III.—THE POLITICS OF DANTE.

THE Politics of Dante, to which in this lecture I shall confine myself, are governed by the principle that the free operation of reason in the citizen cannot create the best form of the state. To Dante it seemed almost a truism that anarchy and faction can be suppressed, and the highest good of man secured, only by the subjection of the whole world to the enlightened and unselfish rule of a single monarch. The first proposition, therefore, which he seeks to establish in the *De Monarchia* is, that, whatever be the subordinate organs of society, there must be "a Prince who is over all men in time, or in those things which are measured by time." This at once gives his conception of the State and prescribes its limits. There must be a single Ruler over the whole human race, and his jurisdiction must not extend beyond the concerns of the present life and the temporal welfare of man, while all spiritual interests must be committed to the guidance of the Pope as the divinely appointed head of the Church. In seeking to establish this thesis, Dante gravely advances arguments which we can hardly read without a smile; and indeed we should find it hard to understand how they could ever have carried conviction to any rational being, were it not apparent that beneath the highly artificial form of his reasons there glowed a strong enthusiasm for humanity, a keen perception of the evils of his time, and a permanent substratum of truth.

To show that there ought to be a single Ruler Dante appeals in regular Scholastic fashion to "the Philsopher," i.e., to Aristotle. In the *Politics* of Aristotle it is pointed out that "where a number of things are arranged to attain an end, it is fitting that one of them should regulate or govern the others, and that the others should submit." Therefore, argues Dante, we have the support of Aristotle for our contention that all mankind should be subject to a single Ruler. It need hardly be said that Aristotle never contemplated for a moment the possibility of a world-wide

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empire. In the passage to which Dante refers what he is seeking to show is that nature intended the Barbarian to be a slave, the Greek to be master. We have here therefore a good instance of the uncritical way in which the medieval thinker read and appealed to the authority of Aristotle, as he read and appealed to the authority of scripture. But, even supposing Aristotle had meant to argue from the analogy of the rule of the soul over the body, and of the reason over the appetites, to the rule of the Monarch over all men, we should now say at once that such an analogy proves nothing. The Greek thinker, feeling his way to an adequate conception of the state, tried to assimilate the body politic to a work of art, in which a given material is formed by the shaping intelligence of the artist, and the analogy prepared the way for a deeper comprehension of society, but manifestly no valid inference can be drawn in this way in regard to the form which a perfect state ought to assume. Some of Dante's other proofs are even more external and superficial. What shall we say of a writer who argues that, as the whole movement of the heavens is regulated by one God, the whole human race should be under control of one Ruler? We feel how far we have travelled from this "high priori road" of superficial analogy. So, when we are asked to admit that the Empire is the only perfect form of social order, because man being made in the image of God, and God being one and the human race one, there must be one Ruler, we simply answer that the unity or solidarity of the race does not involve its subjection to a single Monarch, unless it can be shown that in that way the unity of the race is best realized.

Passing from this outer framework of Dante's thought, let us see what is the kernel of his political doctrine. The true life of man, he maintains, consists in the exercise of his rational powers, i.e., in the comprehension of the highest principles and their realization in the lives of men. Now this end cannot be attained unless the social order is fitted to secure peace and tranquillity. But how can there be peace without submission to a supreme authority? The individual man is at war with himself when the passions are not subject to the authority of reason; the family is a scene of discord when the authority of the father is set at naught; the village community must have its chief, the city its podesta, the nation its king. But, if we take the family, the vil-

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lage, the city, or even the nation as the ultimate unit, we shall never have a stable social order. Perpetual strife is inevitable if we stop short of an all-comprehensive unity. So long as the territory of one people is limited by that of the other, the selfish tendency of men will lead them to grasp at unlimited sovereignty. Who is to settle the disputes which inevitably arise? If there is no supreme authority to which appeal can be made, wars and conflicts will be unending, and man will never attain the end of his being. Hence we must have one supreme arbiter of national disputes, i.e., the Emperor.

Again, society exists not only in order to preserve peace, but to secure justice to all men. Injustice is a violation of the rights of individuals, and all such violations proceed from the evil influence of the passions, which war against reason. What is wanted in the perfect Ruler is that he should be guided by reason, and therefore free from all merely personal desires. But where shall we find such a Ruler except in a universal monarch? A limited monarch will always be subject to the desire for conquest, and to other selfish desires which disturb the exercise of even-handed justice; but the Emperor can have no temptation to wars of conquest, since the only territorial limit to his dominions is the sea, and he can have no other interest to engage his affections but the good of his subjects; hence he is the ideal Ruler, whose reason is stimulated by that pure love for others, which is the true incentive to justice.

Lastly, a universal monarchy is best fitted to secure the third great end for which society exists, namely, the preservation of freedom. True freedom consists in living a noble and rational life. It is one of the characteristic marks of man as distinguished from the animals that he can control his desires by reason, instead of being controlled by them. Such a rational freedom is the greatest gift of God to man; it is the necessary condition of all well-being here, and of eternal happiness hereafter. Now, freedom in this sense, Dante contends, is best secured under the government of a single Emperor, while "democracies, oligarchies and tyrannies drive mankind into slavery, as is obvious to anyone who goes about among them." The Emperor, seeking only the good of his subjects, will prescribe laws which allow men to live the life of freemen. Dante distinctly insists that the Emperor

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must be the servant of all, and that the citizens do not exist for the good of the ruler, but the ruler for the good of the citizens; and it is because a universal monarch can have no temptation to seek his own personal good, that the empire seems to him essential to the welfare of the world. In thus maintaining the necessity of a supreme legislative authority, Dante does not mean that all legislative power is to be in the hands of the emperor, but only that cities, nations and kingdoms should be "governed by a rule common to them all, with a view to their peace." Thus, as he thinks, harmony will be secured between the constituent parts of the human race, all moving together with one will. In support of these general considerations, Dante appeals to the testimony of history. From the fall of man to his own day, he contends, the world has never enjoyed tranquillity except during the rule of the "divine Augustus." "How the world has fared since that 'seamless robe' has been rent by the talons of ambition, we may read in books: would that we might not see it with our eyes! Oh, race of mankind! what storms must toss thee, what losses must thou endure, what shipwrecks must buffet thee, as long as thou, a beast of many heads, strivest after contrary things. Thou art sick in both thy faculties of reason; thou art sick in thine affections. . . . . Not even the sweetness of divine persuasion charms thy affections, when it breathes into thee through the music of the Holy Ghost: 'Behold, how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.'"

Having thus sought to prove that the only cure for the miserable political condition of man lies in a return to universal monarchy, Dante's next step is to shew that this monarchy must be Roman. There was a time, he says, in which he himself ascribed the supremacy of Rome merely to its superiority in arms, but deeper reflection convinced him that its success was due to the guidance of divine providence. He does not hestitate to apply to Caesar the words which he regards as originally spoken of Christ: "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take council together against the Lord and against his anointed." But he will do what in him lies to "break their bonds asunder and cast away their yoke," and therefore he will show that both reason and revelation unite in establishing the sacred mission of Rome.

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The right of the Roman people to universal empire is proved, in the first place, by the noble ancestry of their founder, Aeneas, "Our divine poet, Virgil, and Livy both testify, that in his veins flowed the best blood from every part of the world." Secondly, the Roman Empire was helped to its perfection by miracles, which are an attestation of the will of God. Thirdly, the Roman Empire was based upon right; for, neglecting their own interest, the Romans sought to promote universal peace and liberty. Their government, as Cicero says, "might have been called, not so much empire, as a protectorate of the whole world." The same spirit animated the individual Roman citizen. "Shall we not say that they intended the common good, who by hard toil, by poverty, by exile, by bereavement of their children, by loss of limb, by sacrifice of their lives, endeavored to build up the common weal?" It is thus obvious that the Roman people assumed by right the dignity of the empire.

That the Roman people attained to universal dominion by the will of God is shown by their success, "that people which conquered when all were striving hard for the empire of the world conquered by the will of God." The Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, all strove for the prize but failed; the Roman people succeeded, as St. Luke testifies when he tells us that "there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be taxed."

But not only is the claim to empire of the Roman people proved by their right and their providential success, but it may be established by arguments drawn from scripture. For, if the Roman Empire did not exist by right, Christ in being born under it sanctioned what was unjust; nor can the sin of Adam have been punished in Christ, for Christ would not have suffered a just punishment, if he had not been condemned to death by a duly appointed judge.

So strongly was Dante convinced of the necessity of the Roman Empire to the well-being of the race, that he has with difficulty suppressed his indignation against those who countenance the unrighteous interference of the Church with secular concerns, and towards the close of the second part of his treatise it bursts forth in fiery invective. "It is those who profess to be zealous for the faith of Christ who have chiefly 'raged together'

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and 'imagined a vain thing' against the Roman Empire; men who have no compassion on the poor of Christ, whom they not only defraud as to the revenues of the Church, but the very patrimonies of the Church are daily seized upon; and the Church is made poor, while, making a show of justice, they yet refuse to allow the minister of justice [i.e., the Emperor] to fulfil his office." And again: "Let those who pretend to be sons of the Church cease to insult the Roman Empire, when they see that Christ, the bridegroom of the Church, sanctioned the Roman Empire at the beginning and at the end of his warfare on earth." After this outburst he goes on more calmly to examining the claims urged by its supporters in favor of the temporal power of the Church, and to give his reasons for stripping it of all its usurped authority.

For those who deny that the authority of the state comes directly from God mainly from zeal for the power of the Church, Dante has a certain respect, and he will therefore endeavor to show that their view is untenable. One of the arguments upon which they rely is that as the sun and the moon typify the Church and the Empire respectively, it is plain that the Empire receives its authority from the Church, just as the moon receives its light from the sun. But, not to mention other objections, the analogy proves the very opposite; for though the moon receives light from the sun, both were directly created by God, which shows that the Empire, no less than the Church receives its authority directly from God, while yet the Church ought to shed its gracious influence upon the Empire. Other arguments from scripture are similarly disposed of by a "Distinguo," but the whole method of reasoning is so foreign to our ways of thinking that we may pass them over as irrelevant. By such a method anything may be proved or disproved, the whole process being what Carlyle would call "endless vortices of froth-logic."

The main argument relied upon by the champions of the Church is that based upon the Donation of Constantine. Dante's reply is that Constantine could not alienate the dignity of the Empire without destroying its essential function, and therefore destroying the source of his own authority. Moreover, the argument proves too much, for if one emperor may alienate part of the jurisdiction of the empire, why should not his successors

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alienate the whole of it? And finally, it is contrary to the very idea of the Church to receive temporal power from anyone, for the Church is expressly forbidden to possess gold and silver. Another argument for the temporal power of the Church is that Pope Hadrian bestowed the imperial dignity upon Charles the Great, and hence all his successors owe this dignity to the Church. But the Pope could not confer a dignity which was not his to bestow. Besides, the same line of reasoning would prove that the Church receives its authority from the Empire, since the Emperor Otto deposed Benedict and restored Leo.

Let us now see the positive reasons for maintaining the independence of the Empire and the Church. It is manifest that the Empire did not derive its authority from the Church, for the simple reason that it possessed authority before the Church existed. Nor can the Church have any power to grant authority in secular matters, since Christ expressly affirms that His Kingdom is not of this world. And if we consider the ends for which the Empire and the Church exist, it is plain that each has its own independent jurisdiction, and draws its authority directly from God. Man alone of all created beings has a two-fold nature, and, corresponding to these, there are two distinct ends, the happiness of the present life which consists in the exercise of his natural power, and the blessedness of life eternal. The former end he may attain by the use of his reason, the latter can be secured only by transcending reason and exercising the theological virtues of faith, hope and love. Hence man has need of two guides for his life: the Supreme Pontift, to lead him to eternal life, in accordance with revelation, and the Emperor, to guide him to happiness in this world, in accordance with the teaching of philosophy. Both powers are directly ordained of God. "Yet we must not deny that in certain matters the Roman Prince is subject to the Roman Pontiff. For that happiness which is subject to mortality, in a sense is ordered with a view to the happiness which shall not taste of death. Let therefore Caesar be reverent to Peter, as the first born son should be reverent to his father, that he may be illuminated with the light of his father's grace, and so may be stronger to lighten the world over which he has been placed by Him alone who is the ruler of all things spiritual as well as temporal." The Empire, in a word, is paramount in its own sphere,

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but it ought to be the protector of the Church, and to receive with all humility the teaching of the Church in all spiritual matters. Thus neither can come into collision with the other, while the temporal and eternal happiness of mankind will be effectually secured.

I have thought it well to give such a statement of Dante's *De Monarchia* as should convey some idea of its form as well as of its content. The form is purely medieval and scholastic, and is totally inadequate to express what Dante had in his mind. For, beneath all this barren display of school logic, there burned an almost fierce fervour of patriotism, or rather cosmopolitanism, which it would be unfair to overlook and impossible to overestimate. What Dante longed for was that Astræa should return, bringing with her the reign of peace, justice and freedom; and the separation of the Empire and the Church seemed to him the only means by which that consummation could be attained. How impossible and even undesirable was such a return to this ideal of the past, a mere glance at the course of Italian history is sufficient to show.

The politics of Italy was determined for centuries, as Mr. Symonds points out, by the failure of the Lombards to conquer the whole peninsula. Venice, Ravenna and the five cities of Romagna called Pentapolis were left by Alboin, their leader, in the hands of the Greek emperors. Rome remained independent. In Southern Italy they failed to get possession of Bari, Amalfi and Naples. Thus Italy at a very early period was divided into distinct political units, which were never fused into one till our own day. Now this fact had the closest connexion with the relations of the Church and the Empire. It was only after the tenth century that the Popes exercised a direct influence upon the political development of Italy. Purified by the efforts of Henry III, the Church came to the consciousness of its power, and by the mouth of Gregory VII advanced the claim to dominion "over all creatures." Thus began that conflict between the Church and the Empire, which ultimately proved fatal to the latter. Meantime the cities of Upper Italy were quietly laying the foundations of their independence; and when Frederick I asserted his claim to dominion over the whole of Italy, they were able, by the aid of the Pope, to extort a recognition of their freedom.

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And as the power of the Communes grew, so the people gradually gained an ascendancy over the nobles. In the conflicts of Emperor and Pope the Communes of Northern Italy naturally allied themselves with the Pope, in order to preserve their political independence. The triumph of the papacy, however, only prepared the way for their subjection to Tyrants, who often presented themselves in the guise of demagogues. The loss of freedom in the Italian cities was due chiefly to their want of cohesion; to hereditary feuds, faction and bad government; and to the imperfect fusion of the noble families with the burghers. In Dante's day the elements of discord and disruption were in full activity, and we can therefore understand how he should have sought for an escape from the evils, which he not only witnessed, but of which he was the victim, in a return to the Empire. His ideal was not new: it was the form which the consciousness of the unity of the race, first distinctly enunciated by Christianity, naturally assumed under historical conditions. The conception of the separate jurisdiction of Emperor and Pope had struck root as early as the fifth century, and it never ceased to haunt the medieval mind. But, in the beginning of the thirteenth century forces were at work which were destined to intensify these divisions and destroy the ideal bond of unity which had held them together. The distinct formation of independent nationalities, the growth of modern languages and literatures, and the rise of a third estate antagonistic to the nobility, all led to a new conception of society. The cosmopolitan spirit of the knight was unintelligible to the plain burgher, and we are not surprised to find the chivalrous lays of the time full of laments for the glory of a vanished past. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, the old ideal of a single race, ruled by one Emperor and one Pope, had lost its fascination, and on its ruins the new ideal of nationality was rising into view. In the faction-ridden communes of Northern Italy this new ideal seemed a mere dream, and we cannot be surprised that Dante should turn back to the ideal of the past.

The remedy of Dante for the evils of his time, as it need hardly be said, was based upon a false conception of the past and a defective foresight of the future. Not only is the universal Roman Empire a mere "*magni nominis umbra*," but it involves a

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false conception of true relation of the individual to society. The highest form of the state, as we now see, is inseparable from nationality. No ruler is so wise as the whole people. Dante's idea of an Emperor who should be the embodiment of pure reason is contradicted by all that we know of the rule of an absolute monarch. But, even if such a monarch could be found, a universal empire has the fundamental defect, that it shuts out the citizen from the education which comes from personal participation in the government of the state. The end of the state is not simply to secure the prosperity of the people, but to develop the spiritual powers of every citizen, and in this development, as it seems to me, training in citizenship is a necessary factor. Dante did not see that even the discord and faction of his day were the confused expression of the struggle towards self-government. No doubt the selfishness of Guelf and Ghibelline, of Bianchi and Neri, was destroying the freedom of the Communes, and Italy had to pay dearly for its want of union and patriotism; but it is none the less true that the inextinguishable desire for political freedom was behind it all. The political problem which the Middle Ages were trying to solve, was to unite the free spirit of the Germanic people with that reverence for law which was the great heritage bequeathed to the race by the Roman people; just as its ethcial problem was to combine the spirit of Christianity with that desire for intellectual freedom and clearness which had come from Greece. And just as the latter problem can be solved only by insisting, not merely upon the right, but upon the duty of freedom in speculation, involving the freedom to fall into error; so the former problem can be solved only by the independence of the citizen, even when that independence is accompanied by the evils of faction and self-seeking. The reason implicit in a people will assert itself if it is only allowed free play.

We must not fail to observe, however, that, if Dante would sacrifice the independence of the political community, it is because only in this way, he believes, can true freedom be found. The universal peace which the Empire is to bring back to earth is the condition of judgment and freedom; and by freedom he means all that goes to the development of the higher powers of man. Though Dante cannot rid himself of the idea that the contemplative is higher than the practical life; yet, having made

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this concession, he practically says that the only life worth living is that of the active citizen, who is at the same time interested in all the things of the mind. The production of wealth he does not regard as unspiritual, but only the selfish accumulation or expenditure of wealth; and his ideal embraces all the arts by which man is lifted above sense. We do not find in him, as in Plato, a reluctant renunciation of art as an "imitation" of the sensible: he views it as a medium, through which the highest truth may be conveyed. This is manifest from the delight which he felt in music, from the value he attaches to architecture, sculpture and painting, as well as the interest he shows in even the form of poetry. The full development of all the powers of the mind is his ideal of a worthy human life. So long as this end was attained it seemed to him a small matter that men should receive their laws and institutions from a supreme authority; nay, this end, as he thought, could in no other way be attained. In this as in all else Dante is the exponent of all that is best in medieval thought. Greece had bequeathed to Christendom not only the desire and the means of intellectual culture, but it had also handed in its special gift of art, mainly through the medium of Roman art. It is well to remember, as Mr. Bosanquet points out, when we speak of the "Dark Ages," that the period from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries was the great building age of the world; nor must we forget that the Church was the great patron of sculpture and painting; and that in Dante the two streams of chivalric and religious poetry were united, as Giotto his contemporary combines close and accurate study of nature with reverence for sacred themes. The modern world has gone far beyond the medieval conception of the state and the church, but the problem of combining culture with intellectual and political freedom is very far from being solved.

There is another thing which we should do well to bear in mind. Dante's ideal of a universal empire was no doubt a dream, but it was one of those inspired dreams of a great mind which are unconsciously prophetic. For, though there cannot be a universal emperor, there ought to be, and we trust will yet be, a universal people. Dante failed to estimate the importance of nationality as the necessary step to a wider unity, for nationality has been the great political educator of the race. Yet he was not

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wrong in regarding national hate as of the same essence as faction. The highest progress of the race demands, not a "spirit of watchful jealousy" between nations, but a spirit of active co-operation in all that concerns the well-being of man. No doubt we are very far from the realization of universal peace, justice and freedom, but at least the progress of the mechanical arts, of political science and of philosophy are bringing us apparently nearer to it. If we take Dante's lesson to heart, we shall at least be led to admit that selfishness in a nation is as indefensible as selfishness in an individual. Like all men who fix their eyes on the Eternal, Dante was so enamoured of the ideal that he sought to anticipate at a stroke the slow progress of the ages. As Plato could only conceive of the perfect state as an idealized Sparta, in which the distinction of "mine" and "thine" was abolished by the negation of individual property and even of the family; as Goethe, in his passion for universal culture undervalued the principle of nationality, partly confusing it with that spurious but aggressive form of it which is almost indistinguishable from hatred of all other nations; and as Carlyle, in his desire to put the hero at the head of the state, seemed to forget that a hero can in our day only be found by a people politically free; so Dante, in the excess of his idealism, would bring about at once the golden age of the world. In one way these masters of thought were wrong, but in their protest against the narrow and mean ideals of their age, as in the large and liberal spirit by which they were animated, they put to shame our indifference and our enslavement to petty interests; and we read them ill if we forget the essential nobility of their aims in a perception of the inadequacy of the means by which they sought to attain them.

Of Dante's conception of the Church much the same has to be said as of his conception of the Empire. Like all medieval thinkers he cannot see how the spiritual interests of men can be kept secure without a supreme authority to decide in matters of faith. Freedom of thought in religious matters naturally seemed a contradiction to one who conceived of the Church as the guardian of a body of doctrine which had received its final statement. The free operation of the intellect, as he thought, can only mean freedom to fall into error. To us, on the contrary, it seems manifest that, just as there can be no perfect form of society

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which is not based upon the free consent of the whole people, so there can be no system of religious truth which is not the product of the unbiassed reason. On this point there should be no need to insist: the duty of private judgment is the watch-word of the modern world, and no Protestant can be faithless to it without abandoning the central principle of the Reformation. What perhaps requires to be emphasized rather is, that when we have denied the medieval separation of Church and State, religious and secular, we can no longer regard any ecclesiastical organization as more than one of the organs by which the Christian principle of universal brotherhood is sought to be realized. The true invisible church is therefore co-extensive with all the means by which men are bound more closely together and helped to become "the Lord's free men." On the other hand whatever tends to produce rancour and uncharitableness, and to hinder the spread of intellectual and spritual freedom, is the World, even when it claims to be the Church. Dante no doubt would have rejected this view, yet, in so far as the Church was for him the symbol of the self-sacrificing life, it dominates his whole mind; and it is for this reason that he exhibits a divine contempt for the simoniac popes, and paints with such force and sympathy the devotion of a St. Bernard or a St. Francis.

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PHILOLOGY AND EARLY TRADE.

A STRIKING illustration of the view that all branches of study are but different sides of the same great truth is furnished by the relations subsisting between Philology and the History of primitive Trade. The correlation of the forces of nature has its analogy in the correlation of the sciences. So intimately connected are they that they reflect mutual light on each other and that a great advance in any one of them is accompanied by a general forward movement along the whole line. The old French proverb '*Tout est dans tout*,' all knowledge is involved in each particular branch of knowledge, is not more trite than it is true. The knowledge of many things is requisite to do any one thing well. Nor is this a case of a little learning being a dangerous thing, but rather a question of turning aside from the stream of truth or floating on its broad current.

It is specially in those subjects that make large use of the historical method that comparative philology is enabled to render most help. Man is by nature an historian, an investigator of the past. He studies the past with eager interest, that he may the better understand the present and forecast the future. With a larger body of facts before him, his inferences and generalizations are more likely to be true. There is hardly a field of thought to which the historical method has not been applied and in which it has not yielded large results. It assumes the continuity of the human race, that the present has its roots in the past, that many things in our present social condition and in our modern institutions are an inheritance from previous ages, and that for a fuller understanding of them, we must study them in their origin and view them in their process of formation.

Far the larger portion, however, of man's activities lies outside the pale of the historical period proper, in the unrecorded acts of prehistoric times. To the oldest or palæolithic period, Archæology is the sole clue, to the next or neolithic period—that which preceded the dawn of authentic history, Comparative Philology, if not the sole, is the chief clue.

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Comparative Philology, otherwise called the Science of Language, has often been maligned and misrepresented as but more or less clever juggling, and as having to do only with the correspondences of words in different languages. Many even well educated men, but not native to the guild, are disposed to concur with Voltaire's definition of it where he describes etymology as that study in which the consonants amount to little, and the vowels to nothing at all. It might have been so once—it is so no longer. No doubt it has its infinity of little details, in which one may become entangled and lost, and its special laws which may be applied in a merely mechanical way. But it has also its body of large generalizations, of broad principles, wide relations and striking truths that illumine the dark espanse of the past, and flash large beams of light into the present.

The investigation of words gives us the most reliable knowledge we can get of human life, thought and action in those ages which have left behind them no historical documents. The information thus derived from the analysis of the thought of the past, yields a large mass of facts touching the occupations, modes of life, religious beliefs—in short, the whole political, social and cultural development of those ages that preceded the historical period of the race. Such a wide field of study, with its numerous details, could be dealt with here in only the most cursory way. Of the many lines of enquiry followed out in accordance with the linguistic and historical method, probably none is of more general interest, or more in line with our present activities, than the history of the trade relations and the beginnings of intercourse between primitive races, respecting which the etymological study of language presents us with the following account.

The earliest literature of Europe, namely, the Greek, gives us as the usual designation of a member of another race the word ξενος, 'stranger' or 'foreigner.' The term βαρβαρος, 'barbarian,' was of later origin. It is one of the acute remarks of Thucydides in his history, that there were no barbarians to the Greeks in Homer's time since there was as yet no Hellenic race in contra-distinction with which alone the term was used.* Now earlier than any Greek, or Latin, or Keltic, or Teutonic, or Sanscrit use, is Indo-European use. And as the form of a word is

*Thuc. I. 14.

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changed through the wear and tear of time, so in process of time is the meaning of a word changed and emptied of its original content. It is Comparative Philology that restores at once the original form and the original sense. Comparative Philology tells us that the Greek ξένος is connected with the Indo-European root 'kshen,' Sanscrit 'kshan' meaning 'to kill.' It thus yields us as the earliest sense of ξένος the meaning 'killer.'*

From this we can guage the civilization and intercourse of the earliest occupants of the Indo-European area. The vaunted state of nature is a state of war. Uncivilized races view each other with mistrust and hostility. Hate to the stranger is the note of barbarism. The state of primitive society was very similar to that of newly-discovered tribes in Africa and the Pacific Ocean. A survival of this hostility to aliens is found among the Spartans in their practice of ξενηλασία or expulsion of foreigners. As the purest-blooded and most conservative race of the Hellenic stock, they were but perpetuating an inherited practice. Homer makes mention of the man-eating Lestrygones. The inhabitants of the Tauric Chersonese killed all ship-wrecked mariners who landed on their coasts, and made drinking cups out of their skulls. It is on this national custom that Euripides bases the plot of his Iphigeneia in Tauris. Horace even in his day describes our British ancestors as still fierce to strangers, 'Britannos hospitibus feros.' As manners became milder with advancing intercourse and civilization strangers were regarded with a less degree of animosity, yet the fact that Romans and Greeks alike, in all periods of their history regarded death as preferable to exile, serves to indicate the indignities that were heaped upon the resident foreigner. It was therefore no mere empty sentiment, but a deep and pathetic truth to which Orestes gives utterance, when he says "What greater misery can betide a man than to be driven outside the borders of his native land?"† It was in fact no crime in the eye of the law to slay one not of the blood. Among the Germans no Wergeld was exacted for killing a stranger, and among the heathenish Russians, so tells us an Arabian historian, no stranger could venture without at once losing his life.

Side by side, however, with this hostility to strangers, we find

*O. Schrader, Handelsgeschichte und Warenkunde, p. 5. This work is a mine of information on the subject. Many of the statements in this article are made on Schrader's authority.
†Euripides, Elektra, 1314.

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prevailing the practice of guest-friendship, a feature of great importance in its bearing on primitive ethics and civilization. One of the formalities connected with it was the bestowment of presents. The guest-friend coming from another people was recognized by his possession of a *σύμβολον* or token. That it was usual for the presents exchanged to be of corresponding value, we may infer from the comment made by the poet on the gift of Glaucus to his guest-friend Diomedes.*

> "Fool that he was to give gold arms for bronze, arms worth
> a hundred beeves for arms worth nine."

Evidently the connection points in its origin to a trade transaction, the fundamental principle lying at the basis of this friendship being that of barter, the giving of like for like. Tacitus tells us in his Germania, c. 21, that the same custom prevailed among the Teutonic tribes. "It is usual," he says, "to give to a guest on his departure anything he asks, and to ask of him in return a corresponding gift." The first step, therefore, made in the direction of higher civilization is when the idea of exchange to the mutual benefit of buyer and seller takes the place of mistrust and hate.

Now that we have seen how tribal and racial hostility first began to give way before the idea of a mutually advantageous intercourse, we may consider how this idea could best be facilitated and extended.

This was effected by the construction of roads. Road-making though carried to the highest pitch by the Romans was by no means an unknown art to the Greeks of even the earliest period, or to other nations. Isidorus in his 'Origines' attributes the honor of originating it to the Phœnicians. But the knowledge of building roads and streets goes back to an earlier period, and furnishes numerous words to the Indo-European vocabulary. The Greek *πάτος*—English *path*, is represented in Sanscrit by the word *panthas*, in Latin by *pons*, all having as their primary meaning *road* or *ford*, that of *bridge* being a later and secondary meaning. The meanings road and ford pass into each other, which is readily understood when we reflect that the course taken by a road was determined by the direction of the ford. One river famous in history received its name from the fact that all eastern trade passed

*Homer, Il. VI. 234.

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over by its shallows, Euphrates coming from the Zend *peretu* (Huperetu) with the meaning of ford. This same term furnishes Modern Persian with its name for bridge *pfuhl*, derived from peretu (Max Müller, Physical Religion, p. 365).

A still greater advance in trade and international intercourse was made when the art of bridge-building was discovered. This belongs to a comparatively late period, but still one outside the historic period. So wonderful did the art appear to the Romans that the bridge-builder (pontifex), with his mysterious skill, was made a member of the priesthood, though the original meaning of the title had evaporated from it in historical times. How many centuries had elapsed between the earliest use of the art in Italy and the appearance of the Romans on the stage of history, it is impossible to say. It was long enough, however, to give a new sense to the word *pontifex*, a process not usually a brief one when the primary and secondary meanings stand so far apart. Caesar tells us that the Helvetii were struck dumb with astonishment when they found that he had crossed in one day by means of a bridge a river which it had taken them twenty days to cross.

That bridge building was not an Indo-European art, but one peculiar to European soil, follows from the fact that no common term is used in the different languages of the family. That it was struck out independently by the Germans and not derived from the Romans, notwithstanding the wonder of the Helvetii, may be inferred from the word *bridge* itself. It is the German 'Brücke.' Etymologically it is connected with the English '*brow*' in eyebrow, Sanscrit 'bhrus' and Greek ὀ-φρυς in the sense of *arch*. The primary sense of 'brow' is alone to be found in the primitive Indo-European, the secondary meaning of bridge is Teutonic.

Already in the Greek Heroic Period regularly built and smooth roads, not mere tracks, are frequently mentioned. Telemachos and his friend Peisistratos drive in company in their chariot from Pylos to Sparta.* And in the Iliad in the famous comparison of Ajax to a skilled vaulter, as he leaps in the fight from ship to ship, the crowds that watch him with wonder are likened to the throng on a highway leading to a populous city.†

The practice of road-making was an early one in the history of Greece. The necessity of easier means of communication was

*Hom. Od. III, 486. †Hom. Il. XV. 679.

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felt as soon as architecture, especially the building of temples, whose materials must often be taken from distant places, was developed to some degree of skill. The religious festivals and the national games also served to give an impulse to the art.

Their manner of making roads was peculiar to the Greeks and very different from the Roman practice. Tracks were usually made for the wheels alone. Except on level ground and in the vicinity of cities where there was great traffic, two vehicles could not pass. It was often impossible for a vehicle to turn out of the way. The road was devised for only one conveyance. Hence in the Theban myth the origin of the dispute between Laios and his unrecognized son Œdipus as to the right of way, and the death of Laios in the quarrel that ensued (Sophocles, Œdipus Rex). In swampy ground a dyke was raised called *γέφυρα*, which later became the proper term for bridge. Traces of these roads are still to be clearly seen today in Greece. The inferiority of the Greek roads to those of the Romans is brought out by the different languages. While the Greeks use the phrase 'to cut a road' *τέμνειν ὁδον*, the Latins use the phrase 'to fortify a road' *(munire viam)*. Inferior as the Greek roads were, they were an improvement on the primitive foot-track, and commerce advanced with the opening up of these roads which had primarily a religious end.

The great masters of the art of road making were however the Romans, "they made of masonry" says the Geographer Strabo "even their roads, cutting down hills and filling hollows, so that waggons carried the cargoes of ships". The first to be built was the Appian Way leading from Rome to Capua. In the time of the Empire, these roads were to be found in all parts of the Roman World, furnishing easy access for the Roman armies to the remotest tribes, and bringing the tribute of all nations to the Imperial City. So solidly were they built that in some parts of Europe they are still used without repair, and the word 'strata' street, has passed into almost every language of Rome's former dominions.

It is now in order to touch on the vehicles and animals used for the interchange of commodities in primitive times. From the fact that the words for 'wagon,' 'wheel' and 'axle' with many other parts of the vehicle are etymologically represented in the

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Asiatic and European branches of the primitive Indo-European, we infer the knowledge of wheeled vehicles in prehistoric times. Some were possessed of only two, others of four wheels. The absence however of any common term for the 'spoke' which is represented in the most diverse ways in the different languages of the Aryan stock, indicates the non-existence of the thing in primitive times. Sanscrit calls it 'ara,' Greek κνήμη, Latin 'radius.' It is only in the Teutonic or bordering languages thatwe find the etymological relations of the word 'spoke,' namely, O. H. G. speihha, Lettish szpykis Slavish spica, the last two probably borrowed from the Teutons, who themselves borrowed the invention from the Kelts—the great horse-breeding race of primitive times. Wheels and axle were hewed out of the same log and turned together. Such were the wheels of the rude Roman 'plaustrum,' so called from 'plaudo,' to make a noise. That an advance had been made even before the race-separation, so far as to detach the axle from the wheels, is evident from the presence in so many languages of the word meaning 'linch-pin.' The large number of words to indicate various kinds of wagons implies a long acquaintance with the invention.

The Kelts especially were skilled in their construction and devoted to the practice of breeding and driving horses. Among the many terms borrowed by the Romans with the thing itself was the Keltic 'car,' which through the Latin 'carrus' has passed into most of the languages of Europe, with the exception of those in the far north, where trade was done in winter, and wheeled vehicles were of secondary importance to the sled.

The favorite beast of burden in primitive times, especially in Europe, was the ox. The word is found represented in all the Indo-European languages, subject, of course, to the regular phonetic changes. In Sanscrit it is 'go,' Armenian 'kow,' Greek βοῦς, Latin 'bos,' Keltic 'bo,' Teutonic 'chuo,' English 'cow.' Not only was the ox used in agriculture, attached to the plough, but also for hauling loads on the roads, and in addition at all high festivals, religious or social, in priestly processions and at marriage feasts. It was better adapted by its patience and leisurely movements for the rude roads and vehicles of the time than was the more quickly moving horse. The horse, too, was well known from the earliest times to Indo-Europeans and

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Semites alike, but he was prized in the Indo-European period on other grounds than his utility in transport and commerce. As in the Palæo-lithic age the horse was an object of the chase, so in the Neo-lithic or Indo-European age his chief value lay in his flesh, hide and sinews, and in the milk furnished by the mares. Horses were kept in droves in a half-wild state like the *taboons* or native horses of Russia at the present day.

The quality in the horse that chiefly attracted attention in the earliest times was his swiftness. This Indo-European name 'the swift one' has passed into all the related languages. In Sanscrit it was 'asvas,' Greek ἐκκος (ἵππος), Latin 'equus,' Keltic 'ech.' From the earliest period the horse was used by the Assyrians for purposes of fight, attached to the war chariot. The Greeks long afterwards adopted this practice from their eastern neighbours, and we find the horse frequently referred to in their earliest literature—the Epic verse of Homer. Even there the horse is limited to the use of the nobles, and to the practice of driving, no mention is made of horseback riding, or of him as a beast of burden. At a later time when used for general draught purposes, and after the idea of swiftness had dropped out of sight, other names were adopted in the various languages, different names representing different functions. The Keltic 'copal,' meaning a horse for general purposes, passed into Latin in the form Caballus, and thence into the various Romance languages as Italian cavallo, Sp. caballo, Fr. cheval.

Earlier than the horse for purposes of road traffic, but later than the ox, was the mule. This animal, as a cross between the horse and the ass, was called in Greek ἡμίονος 'half-ass,' also ὀρεύς 'the mountain beast.' It was esteemed as more serviceable than even the ox and soon became a favourite. But it was specially in rougher and more elevated ground that it was most relied on. Homer tells us that the mule came into Greece from Asia Minor, a view supported by later Greek writers, and one that has been proved correct by modern investigation.

The ass was the last of the beasts of burden to be introduced into Europe. Even in the earliest period of Asiatic civilization it was known to the East. It is mentioned in the Rig-veda—the Sacred Hymns of the Hindoos—and in the earliest records of Assyria, reaching back possibly four thousand years before the Chris-

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tian era. Neither in Homer, however, nor in Hesiod, who sings the joys and griefs of the farmer, is it spoken of as a beast of burden. At a later period, when its qualities became better known, it was much prized in Greece and Italy, and from Italy it passed into the rest of Europe, carrying with it its original name in the far East. As is the case of so many other culture-animals, practices and plants, the origin of the ass is to be traced to Asia. Its name in all the languages of Europe is derived from the Semitic 'a(n)thon.' Hommel,* one of the leading authorities thinks it probable that the animal and its name, which is 'anshu' in Assyrian, are to be connected with the Euphrates valley and its earliest civilization. In any case it was the last of the animals to be used in Europe for purposes of draught, and it was certainly unknown to the Indo-Europeans.

Many other points of interest present themselves for treatment in connection with the intercourse and first trading facilities between early peoples, promoted by the extension of roads and the introduction of animals of burden, but only one other point can be here discussed, namely, the provision made for the entertainment of a visitor to another country. In the earliest period the sole refuge for the traveller lay in the hospitality of his guest-friend. Inns there were none where travel was at the risk of life. Even when it became more common to resort to other countries, where a guest-friend was not within reach, food and shelter lay in the benevolence of some rich and large-hearted man. That there were such in many places, even in the earliest times, we may infer from what Homer says regarding Axylos, and his treatment of strangers:

> To the war he came
> From nobly-built Arisba; great his wealth,
> And greatly was he loved, for courteously
> He welcomed to his house beside the way
> All comers.
>
> HOMER, ILIAD VI. 12.

In Italy, at a much later period, large landholders furnished houses for the entertainment of travellers, and assigned to their management trusty slaves.

In the event of the absence of the guest-friend in Greece, or of some hospitable man of means and kindness, another resource

*Hommel, Die Vorsemitischen Culturen p. 400.

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for the stranger was to betake himself to the smithy, χαλκεῖον, whose bright fire and the village gossips gathered round it made it a preferable halting place to the fireless shed λέσχη, attached to a neighboring temple—the last resort when all others failed—cheerless but safe under the protection of the gods. The smithy as the only other spot besides the chief's hearth where the fire perpetually burned was a favorite place of resort. There even the homeless found a refuge, as the fire was always smouldering. Hence in the Odyssey, XVIII, 327, the false servant maid Melantho enjoins her master Odysseus, returning home in the guise of a beggar to go off somewhere else to seek for shelter in his misery:

> O whither wanders thy distempered brain
> Thou bold intruder on a princely train?
> Hence to the vagrants' rendezvous repair;
> Or shun in some black forge the midnight air.

At a later period the πανδοκεῖον or house of general entertainment, was a well known institution in all commercial cities. The general diffusion of inns in Europe, however, was due to the adoption by the Romans of the Eastern system of post-stations, established at an interval of a day's journey from each other, along the principal roads of the Empire. In course of time the inns and stables connected with these stations, designed first for the convenience of the servants of the state, were used in the interests of the general public, for the reception of all comers and expediting them on their way.

So is it the case universally. Trade and travel increase at the same rate and by the same route. So closely connected are the two ideas, that they may be considered interchangeable. As in the English speech a 'traveller' is at the same time a 'trader,' so also in Germany are the two 'Handel' and 'Wandel' bound together in proverb and in fact. These ideas have their deep interest for us, not merely because of the barbaric conditions from which they simultaneously emerged, but also because of the greater culture, brotherhood and peace that follow in their wake. When they had no existence, human life had no value except within the narrow range of the *sib*, or brotherhood united by blood.

With their rise commerce was born, and though it may not appear a very noble thing to be a "nation of shop-keepers," yet trade is

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becoming more and more the indispensable condition of national progress, comfort and refinement. Though not the highest ideal itself, yet commerce is largely synonymous with civilization, its scarlet thread; and under the conditions that foster it, flourish all that is highest and best in art, literature and science.

A. B. NICHOLSON.

FROM BROWNING

IN PRAISE OF SHELLEY.

Sun-treader, life and light be thine for ever!
Thou art gone from us; years go by and spring
Gladdens and the young earth is beautiful,
Yet thy songs come not, other bards arise,
But none like thee: they stand, thy majesties,
Like mighty works which tell some spirit there
Hath sat regardless of neglect and scorn,
Till, its long task completed, it hath risen
And left us, never to return, and all
Rush in to peer and praise when all in vain.

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THE EARTH AND THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE.

(Continued from the July number.)

See through this air, this ocean, and this earth,
All matter quick, and bursting into birth.
Above, how high progressive life may go !
Around, how wide ! how deep extend below !

THE Biologist approaches our subject through a study of organized beings and the general phenomena of organic life. He is confronted on all sides by a world teeming with living organisms, and extending in an unbroken chain from the microscopic unicellular plant or animal, to the highest complexity of organization to be found in the human race.

The fertile surface of the earth is clothed with an endless variety of weeds, and flowers, and forest trees, and peopled with thousands of terrestrial animals, which roam over it in search of their food, while the rocky and more inhospitable parts support their quota of fungi, and mosses, and lichens.

The sea swarms with both vegetable and animal life ; not only in the warmer waters of the torrid zone, where every surface drop glows with the phosphorescence of its lowly organized inhabitants, even in its darkest depths, and under the very shadow of the antarctic ice-cap it is rich in its number and variety of strange and peculiar animal forms.

And the very air, besides the innumerable insects which dance in the summer sun, and the birds which soar aloft, is alive with eggs, and bacteria, and spores of all kinds.

To classify these living things, and to marshall them in order, and to describe their external appearances and their similarities and distinctive marks, is not the chief work of the Biologist, however important it may be from some points of view.

He must endeavor to discover the origin of living things, that is, their mode of coming into being, or, as it is commonly called, their creation ; he must trace their development or growth through all their life-changes, and try to find out what inter-rela-

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tions, if any, connect plant with plant, or animal with animal. For, from whatever point of view we consider plants and animals, we cannot avoid the conclusion that certain classes of plants, as also certain divisions of animals, have many characteristics, of both structure and habit, in common.

The task which the Biologist thus sets before himself is by no means an easy one; but in its prosecution he is very much better off than the Geologist. For the Geologist cannot possibly have pass before his eyes the process of formation of even the most insignificant rock-stratum in the earth's crust, whereas the Biologist can trace with great ease the microscopic and grosser development of as many plants and animals as he pleases.

Inter-relations amongst organic beings are indicated from a study of their anatomy, of their physiology, and especially of their embryology; and so strong is the evidence thus brought out in favor of some community of origin, that a careful investigation into their mode of creation, or first presentation in the organic world, becomes a matter of the highest importance.

That theory of special creations, so long believed in, in which everything came into existence, in the short space of six natural days, and in which every animal, and every plant possessed the form which it now has, and followed the mode of life which it now follows, is not tenable for many reasons, amongst which we may mention the following:

The six-day theory of creation contradicts the most important teachings of Geology and Biology, and by thus falsifying our observations in these subjects and our reasoning therefrom, it presents nature to us as a something which is unintelligible, inconsistent, and arbitary, and which, instead of being characterized by wisdom or design, is characterized by the very reverse.

The six-day theory of creation, by asking us to deny the most obvious experiences of our senses, experiences which in themselves are marked by the most eminent consistency, destroys the basis of all science. For science is founded upon human experience assisted by human reason; and we can have no experience of a creation which is an absolute formation of something from nothing, nor is it consistent with any part of our knowledge or with our modes of thought. Science assumes that the universe is governed by immutable and eternal laws, and it rests its

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superstructure upon this assumption as a foundation. So that in a series of consecutive phenomena, if some can be traced to any intelligible law, while others are contradictory to it, the phenomena, and whatever may be their cause, lie without the field of science.

The difficulties, in the way of trying to reconcile this very special creation theory with the most obvious deductions from geological observations, are so great that of late years an attempt has been made towards some kind of reconcilation by supposing that the six days of creation were not natural days, but that the term *day* as here employed is synonymous with a great and indefinite period of time, having some distinctive phenomena to indicate something which might be taken for its beginning and its end. This to some extent gets over the geological difficulties, but any theory of special creations still leaves the Biological difficulties untouched. For, amongst other things, it fails to explain, for instance, why a frog changes its mode of respiration from branchia to lungs, while no animal ever makes the reverse change; it fails to explain why mammals should begin their embryonic development along the same line as fishes, and that they should pursue this line even unto the development of gill-arches as they do; it fails to explain why the higher animals should possess many rudimentary organs, which to them are useless, or at times troublesome or even destructive, but which being fully developed in some of the lower animals, serve for these an important purpose. And it fails completely to explain the hundreds of peculiar adaptations of animals and plants to their environments, or it attempts to explain them by a theory of design, which, although once in great repute, is in actuality opposed to observed facts, and which, by making the whole universe subservient solely to the benefit and enjoyment of man, is egoistic in conception.

The Biologist believes that nature is a manifestation of intelligence, and therefore intelligible, for wherever he has formed a sufficiently intimate acquaintance with any part of it, he is able to understand its processes and to comprehend the wisdom displayed.

This does not mean that nature has no mysteries; for what the Biologist does not understand is to him, as yet, a mystery, and in this sense, nature may be said to be nearly all mystery.

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The growth of a plant from a seed is a mystery, but the fact that the same seed always produces the same plant, and not another, brings the operation within the domain of an intelligible law. Moreover, he believes that the solution of many of these mysteries is only a matter of time, and a happy combination of circumstances combined with sufficient powers of comprehension. And although he cannot expect to fathom the infinite, yet he has no doubt that when a solution to any of these present mysteries comes, the solution will reveal the fact that all processes are as conformable to immutable laws as are the motions of the heavenly bodies.

If nature is intelligible its operations must be in harmony with our intelligence, and this requires, as one of the first things, that nature shall be subject to the great law of continuity, or that the universe shall be a unit in the sense that the present must in all cases be connected with, and be developed out of the past.

The most abstruse theorem of mathematics involves the primary elements of number and space, and can involve nothing but these and their relations, although by a continuous generalizing and amplifying process we rise from the very simple to the very complex.

We who are growing in years involve in our present organization all the influences which have been brought to bear upon our past lives, and not these only, but also those which have affected the lives of our ancestors through a long series of past generations.

So the Biologist expects to find in his science, that the almost infinite complexity existing in organic nature, is but the development of the potentiality which once existed in the humblest cell, and that this development has been carried on throughout the long ages of time which have passed away since the first living thing appeared upon the earth, and which, while consisting mainly of cell multiplication and differentiation, has been due to causes which form a part of the very necessities of the universe itself. In other words, the Biologist holds that organic nature of today is but organic nature of yesterday so transformed as to be adapted to any minute changes of environment which may, in the mean time, have taken place.

But this statement forms quite a complete expression, al-

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though a very brief one, of the theory of evolution—a theory as wide in its application as it was great in its conception.

The Biologist believes in the theory of evolution, because in one branch of his subject, embryology, he sees these processes of transformation being carried on under his scrutinizing observation, and lower forms being built up into higher organisms.

The microscope reveals to him a new world, in which all the functions and processes of life are confined within "the small dimensions of a point," and these cells, as they are called, though always small, have different orders of minuteness.

Every living thing in one stage of its existence is a single cell, and countless millions of these never rise higher. These one-celled organisms, which can be called neither plant nor animal, play an important part in the operations of nature, and new discoveries are continually being made in regard to them. Many of them are benevolent to the higher animals and plants, assisting in their nutrition and growth, while others, as the cholera bacterium, are more terrible, in their destruction, than an army with banners.

The single cell, if designed to go higher, divides into two, and each of these into two again, and so on, and thus tissue is formed. From tissues are built up organs; and from organs, the completed animal or plant, the position of the final product in the scale of organic beings depending chiefly upon the extent to which the cell development is carried out during the embryonic stage of the creature's life.

We do not know in what age or in what form life first appeared upon the earth, but in all probability it was in a unicellular, or possibly a molecular form, and before the advent of the Silurian age. At any rate the only remains which mark the earlier part of the old Silurian are those of low fungi, and seaweeds, and simply constituted animals of the protozoan type. Somewhere along the border land, which separates the Silurian from the overlying Devonian, vertebrated animals first make their appearance in the form of crudely constituted cartilaginous fishes. Thence, as we go upwards in geological formations, or come forward in time, follow in succession the serpent, the bird, the lower mammals, the quadrumana, and finally man.

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Now, long and carefully conducted observations upon the embryology of an animal have shown, that, in its embryonic development, it recapitulates, or passes though, the stages which are common to the characteristic classes of animals beneath it. Thus the mammal, in its embryonic development, simulates respectively the fish and the serpent before it finally takes on the mammalian form; or rather, it passes through the piscine and reptilian forms in arriving at the mammalian form.

Reasons why are very difficult things to get at, but, from the fact that reptiles came into being before mammals, and fish before reptiles, we would infer that this peculiar phenomenon is explainable on the assumption that somewhere during the past life of the universe, mammals have been developed from the piscine form, through the reptilian form.

Amongst the thousands of peculiarities of organic life which here find their explanation, we shall refer only to what are known as reversions, in which an animal appears to revert, in one or more of its characterics, to some near or remote ancestral form. A peculiar and very instructive example of this has occurred in several well developed cases, in which human beings have been born with rudimentary gill-arches upon the sides of the neck. The true explanation is not that there has been anything like a reversion, or going back in form, but that there has been a want of proper development in those parts which appear to be reversions.

Without pursuing this part of the subject into further detail, I think that it will be readily seen that to the Biologist creation is not a single act or a single series of acts confined by limitations of time or space, but that it is continuous and universal. The process of creation began for this earth when the planet began to condense from its "fiery nebula," and the process has been continued ever since. And as soon as this earth became a fit abode for life the living organism began, and its development has been an unceasing creation which is being carried out as actively today as it was a thousand or a million years ago.

Again, the Biologist believes in the principle of evolution, because it gives a direct and reasonable explanation of the wonderful and peculiar plant and animal adaptations so plentifully distributed throughout the organic world.

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Mediævel theologians and philosophers held to that theory of design wherein the forces and conditions of inanimate nature were supposed to have been so created as to be exactly adapted, in temperament and disposition, to the needs of animals and plants in all their forms of life. Volumes were written in the description and laudation of the wonderful beauty of this design, when a few careful observations, made without prejudice, and thought out to their logical conclusions, would have shown the writers that their whole theory of design was untenable. For, inasmuch as this theory held to the permanency of species and of specific forms, it required also a permanency or fixity in the conditions which surround the existence of organic life. But instead of these conditions ever having been fixed ones, they are now and always have been characterized by incessant, and at times, extreme variations. And instead of the conditions adapting themselves to the needs of the organic being, the latter must accommodate itself, as best it can, to the ever-changing conditions, or cease to exist. Hence, from the Biologist's point of view, organic life may be likened to a piece of somewhat hardened wax. If a great stress be brought to bear upon the wax, it will be broken into bits or even crushed into powder; but when it is subjected to a moderate and continuous pressure, the wax may be moulded into any desired form, and be made to accomodate itself to the most intricate markings of the die.

In like manner organic life may be said to be more or less plastic. If any great change takes place quickly in an animal's environment, the animal will not in general be able to accommodate itself to the new order of things, and will accordingly be swept out of existence, as hundreds of species have been in the past. Such a state of matters prevailed at the coming in of the great ice age, when the animals inhabiting the regions affected by it were forced to migrate, or, when that was impossible, to become extinct.

But if the change in environment be sufficiently gradual, which is the normal case, the animal or rather the race, will undergo any amount of transformation in order to satisfy the requirements of the changing conditions of life. And as these conditions are always undergoing change in some way or other, it follows that animal races are being perpetually more or less

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transformed; and there does not seem to be any reason for setting a limit to the amount of transformation which may take place.

In short, the circumstance that a greater degree of adaptation to its surrounding condition is the only thing which gives one animal an advantage over another, in the great struggle for existence which is continually going on, compels, as a matter of necessity, that the victorious animal should adapt itself more nearly to its environment than its vanquished opponents had done, and hence that change, and not fixity, should characterise the organic world. And this in reality embraces the whole principle of organic evolution.

Having given this brief sketch of the principle of evolution, and of the observed facts upon which the the theory rests, let us consider how it affects the question of the age of the earth.

Man, according to the Biologist, whatever he may be morally and spiritually, is physically related to the lower animals, and is but the last link in that chain of development which extends from the beginning of terrestial life up to the present time. And for this reason, amongst others, we choose him for our first subject.

In the British museum there are Egyptian mummies dating all the way from 2000 years to 4500 years B.C. So that upwards of 6400 years ago the Egyptians were sufficiently civilized to discover and to practice the art of embalming, and hence to understand the art of weaving, and of working at carpentry, and of ornamenting the articles produced, for these mummies are wrapped in linen bandages, and their cases are made of wood joined together, and bearing hieroglyphics and picture drawings. Now civilization is a product of evolution, and all observations go to show that evolution is a slow process. And as the Egyptians did not come into a state of civilization at one bound, it is safe to infer that civilization in Egypt had made some progress as early as 7000 years ago, and probably much earlier.

But, long before a civilization like that of early Egypt appeared man existed upon the earth in savage and semi-savage states, in what are known as the Palæolithic and Neolithic ages. No history or historical monuments reach back to these remote ages, and we infer that man existed in these times only from the implements and markings which he has left behind him. For the

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animal that sought his shelter and protection in caves, and knew the use of fire, and manufactured his instruments of offence and defence by chipping quartz nodules, and in later times polishing the products of his ingenuity, and that was capable of scratching rude figures upon the bones of his victims, can be placed amongst no class of beings but man.

Now it is seen from observations on races whose known history extends backwards for some thousands of years, that although these races are ready enough, in some cases, to copy a part of the civilization with which they are brought into contact, they have not been able, by their own efforts to work out a much higher state of civilization than that which they inherited from their remotest ancestors.

In fact the growth of civilization may be compared in some ways to that of a tree. When the tree begins its career as a young and tiny plant the adverse influences are so strong as compared with the vigor of the growing organism, that for some time any real progress may be slow and even doubtful. But when once the sapling has struck its roots deeply into the firm soil and reared its head into the higher and purer atmosphere, its growth is assured, and in its vigor it adds on more substance in a single year than it did in five years of its weak and immature exist-existence.

Thus we cannot believe but that extremely long periods of time were required to advance man from the Palæolithic to the Neolithic period, and thence onwards to the earliest form of civilization of which we have any knowledge. But if this latter civilization has been in existence for somewhere about ten thousand years, or if it has taken that time to bring the civilization of the race from its primitive stages up to the present form, how many years must have elapsed since man first began to use fire and chip flint nodules! Surely from fifty to a hundred thousand years is not a wild or a careless estimate.

But we started with man. And when we bear in mind that, according to the Biological theory of evolution, man must have been evolved from some lower form, and that again from a form still lower, until we come back to the mass of formless protoplasm living in primeval seas or swamps or marshy places, we are forced to the conclusion that the Biologist is even more exacting than

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the Geologist is, in his demands for time in which to build up the pristine and naked earth into the wonderful and beautiful world which we see it to be.

As, then, the Geologist and the Biologist appear to be a unit in their demands for a greater length of time than the physicist finds himself able to grant to them, and the arguments of the former appear to be logical in their form and forcible in their accumulation, it becomes worth while to enquire if the physical arguments are in every respect trustworthy; if the physical theories of space and of energy are as satisfactory as they might be, and if there are no discrepancies between these theories and any known physical phenomena. As a complete discussion of this subject would take us too far afield we must confine ourselves to a few brief remarks.

On the assumption that the force of gravitation, as we know it, extends throughout the universe and is an essential part of it, it is generally supposed that the motions of the heavenly bodies are such as can be accounted for by the attractions of other bodies, taken either individually or collectively. But knowing approximately the mass of the visible universe, in as far as it can seriously affect the motion of a body passing through it, it is not an impossible task to calculate, upon the basis of the received theory of gravitation, the greatest possible velocity which could be given to a moving body, such as a star, by the combined attractions of the whole visible starry system. Thus the velocities of the planets in their orbits are dependent upon the mass of the sun and upon the distances of the planets from the sun, and the motion of the solar system through space is probably due, in like manner, to the various attractions of the nearer constellations.

But there are stars, of which the one numbered 1830 in Groombridge's catalogue is a notable example, whose velocity through the starry system far transcends the maximum calculated velocity. The star 1830 Groombridge is now in our visible system, but it cannot always be so, for its velocity is so great that the combined attractions of all the stars in the visible universe are not sufficient to deflect it into a closed orbit. Hence, as far as we can see, it must, after the lapse of an immense time, pass

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away and become a wanderer in the distant and invisible depths of an unknown and possibly infinite space.

As the observations establishing the existence of this great velocity are altogether trustworthy, it appears that gravitation is but a part of some greater but unknown law under which such anomalies must be explainable, or that the universe is subject to different laws in different parts. But whatever the cause may be, the extreme velocity of these so-called runaway stars, has at present no satisfactory physical explanation.

Again, almost every person is acquainted with the phenomenon known as an electric storm, when the northern aurora takes on, at times, a peculiar ruddy hue, and its streamers, in these climates at least, extend up to and sometimes appear to meet in a sort of corona at the zenith; and when, instead of being confined to the northern portions of the sky, the auroral display extends wholly or pretty well around the visible horizon.

On such occasions there is an immense amount of energy displayed, chiefly in the form of electric and magnetic action. The compass needle is powerfully affected, being swayed irregularly from side to side, and at times being turned completely around.

In the present day electric or magnetic energy is capable of being measured in amount just the same as any other form of energy, and its equivalent can be expressed in terms of heat. And it has been shown that the energy displayed in one of these large magnetic storms, which lasts, at the longest, not more than about twelve hours, is equal in amount to all the heat received by the earth from the sun in a period of three or four months.

What, then, is the source of this energy? It does not appear to come from the earth, as no sensible change is induced in the mean temperature of the earth's crust, nor is any sensible change experienced in the temperature of the atmosphere, or in the after course of meteorology; and it is highly improbable that it comes from the sun, as it is not possible to conceive how the rate, at which the sun emanates energy, could be so suddenly and so enormously increased, and for so short a period of time, and then fall back to its normal state, and leave not a trace of the unwonted commotion behind. And all that can be said at present is that the physical theory of the universe as at present held does not satisfactorily explain this unique phenomenon.

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Again, energy is the capability of doing work, and in the physical theory the total amount of energy in the universe is believed to be unchanged, while it is also held that energy can undergo a kind of degradation, known as the dissipation of energy, under the influence of which all the energy of the universe may become, in time, so degraded as to be totally inapplicable to the doing of any kind of work. To make this plainer—the sun radiates heat to the earth, and this heat is the energy which builds up the tissues of plants, and raises the water by evaporation, and spreads it into clouds above our heads.

This water falls upon the high land, and collecting into rivulets, and streams, and rivers, runs downwards into the sea from which it came. In its downward course the water is slightly heated by the friction of its own molecules, by contact with the sides and bottom of the channel, and by falling over a precipice into the sea; and nearly all the energy, by which the water was raised from its ocean home, is thus changed into a form of low heat, which, instead of being all returned to the sun to recoup his loss, is radiated away into space and made inavailable. And thus in time the sun will practically die, by having parted with all its available energy, and all life and action now depending on the sun's heat will end. Or, as an eminent scientist has put it—"As probably there was a time when the sun existed as matter diffused through space, the coming together of which matter has stored up its heat; so probably there will come a time when the sun, with all the planets welded into its mass, will roll, a cold, black ball through infinite space."

If this is so, then, the time will probably come when all the millions of stars that twinkle by night will grow dark and die, and the universe become a system of extinguished suns;

> As when some forest fire scathes the upland hills
> And leaves a wilderness of blackened boles,—
> Where erst the pine and fragrant cedar grew,—
> And clothes the landscape in a robe of death.

If this is the course of nature, and the universe is not comparatively a new creation, some trace should be discernible of great systems moving through space, and which have already grown cold and dark. But nothing to suggest such a thing has ever been detected, for the variations of a star like Algol cannot

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be explained upon such a hypothesis. It may be said, in fact, that, although this consummation of the universe is a logical deduction from the physical theory of energy, as now held, it is almost certain that it is not the correct one; and it is altogether probable that the physical theory is too imperfect to admit of being pushed to extreme cases.

The physicist finds it necessary, in order to explain rationally the phenomena of radiant light and heat and electrical phenomena, to assume the existence of a something called the luminiferous ether, which fills all space and which is endowed with certain properties. The existence of this ether is as satisfactorily proved as the existence of matter. For we can know matter only through the phenomena which it manifests, and the phenomena due to the ether, or certainly not due to gross matter, are as numerous and as trustworthy as those which belong to matter.

Whether the ether is but a form of extremely rarefied matter, as has been held, or whether matter is but an affection of the ether, as is held to some extent to-day, is not known; and probably cannot be known until physicists come to know much more about matter and ether than they do at present. But the properties which the ether must possess, in order to serve the purposes of its creation, are not the properties of matter as we know it. For the ether must be imponderable, it must suffer displacement without friction, and it must be capable of transmitting energy with enormous velocities—properties not belonging to crude matter.

It appears, then, that space is not a vacuum, but a plenum, filled with the luminiferous ether, and that of the many possible properties of this ether, we know only a few. But it is beginning to be suspected that, just as the sea is the source and home of all the water in the world, and the earth is the great fountain of electricity, so the either is the infinite reservoir of all energy, into which all is poured, in the forms of heat, electricity, &c., but which may exist in it in some form unknown to us, in which nothing is lost, and out of which all energy is drawn. Our available space does not permit us to pursue this subject further, but it is almost certain that along this line will be found the explanations of the discrepancies already alluded to. We think we have said enough to show that the physicist is in no better position to

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dogmatize upon the age of this earth than the Geologist and the Biologist are; and that to him as to others the final consummation of the universe is a sealed book, until he knows more about the primary source of energy, and of the destination of that which he considers to be degraded and dissipated.

N. F. DUPUIS.

THE IDEAL IN ART.

HIS mind (Hogarth's) had feet and hands but not wings to fly with. There is a mighty world of sense, of custom, of every-day action, of accidents and objects coming home to us, and interesting because they do so; the gross, material, stirring, noisy world of common life and selfish passion, of which Hogarth was absolute lord and master: there is another mightier world, that which exists only in conception and in power, the universe of thought and sentiment, that surrounds and is raised above the ordinary world of reality, as the empyrean surrounds this nether globe, into which few are privileged to soar with mighty wings outspread, and in which, as power is given them to embody their aspiring fancies, to "give to airy nothing a local habitation and a name," to fill with imaginary shapes of beauty or sublimity, and make the dark abyss pregnant, bringing that which is remote home to us, raising themselves to the lofty, sustaining themselves on the refined and abstracted, making all things like not what we know and feel in ourselves, in this "ignorant present" time, but like what they must be in themselves, or in our noblest idea of them, and stamping that idea with reality (but chiefly clothing the best and the highest with grace and grandeur): this is the ideal in art, in poetry, and in painting. When Meg Merrilies (in Scott's *Guy Mannering*) says in her dying moments—"Nay, nay, lay my head to the East," what was the East to her? Not a reality, but an idea of distant time and the land of her forefathers; the last, the strongest and the best that had occurred to her in this world. Her gipsy slang and dress were quaint and grotesque; her attachment to the Kaim of Derncleugh and the wood of Warroch was romantic; her worship of the East was *ideal.*—*Hazlitt.*

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THE RELATIONS OF COLONIAL BRITAIN TO THE EMPIRE.

THE close sympathetic interest with which the proceedings of the Intercolonial Conference have been followed in Great Britain, indicates the completeness of the change which has taken place in public opinion there in regard to the political and commercial importance of the colonies. The incidents which marked this change will form a chapter in colonial history. A quarter of a century ago the tendency towards a protective policy on the part of some of the colonies had the effect of reviving amongst the commercial community of Great Britain the old-time impression that the colonies had been planted and fostered solely for the extension of British commerce. Self government had been conceded to these colonies and under it they had exercised their rights by imposing customs dues on British as well as foreign products—at first to raise revenue, but afterwards, in the case of some, to encourage local production as well. Political sympathy in Great Britain inclined towards the British merchant whose market was being seriously curtailed, particularly in Canada, where the competition of the American manufacturer was tending still further to diminish imports from the mother country. As discussion increased, feeling in political circles in England more especially among the Liberals became intensified, and during the regime of the Gladstone ministry of 1868-74, Canada at least, among the Colonies, was given to understand that if friendly separation were desired, the government of Great Britain would not place difficulties in the way.

Such a serious statement from an Imperial source could not fail to produce an impression on the Dominion Government of the day and on the people of Canada. The Minister of Finance in his budget speech in 1874, openly spoke of the struggle for the possibility of carrying out a distinct national existence. His utterances had with them the air of authority, but they failed to bring out any sympathetic response on the part of the Canadian people. Rebuffs and reverses generally force to the surface the

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true mettle of men. The undercurrent of feeling in both Great Britain and the different Colonies was found to be distinctly imperialistic in tone. Men of broad views like Lord Salisbury, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Roseberry, Lord Derby, Hon. E. Stanhope and Hon. W. E. Forster, in England, Sir Henry Parkes in Australia, and Sir J. A. Macdonald in Canada, strongly combatted the idea of a dismantled kingdom, and pleaded for a more united and stronger empire. Eventually they awakened the popular feeling. Their views, already frequently before the public, attracted wide attention in the autumn of 1884, on the occasion, both of the dinner given in London to the Canadian Premier then on a visit to England, and of the very influential meeting held also in London, at which an association for the promotion of Imperial Federation was established. To the efforts of this Imperial Federation League and of the previously formed Colonial Institute, as well as of the various commissioners and agents general who have represented the Colonies in London during the last two decades, has been due not a little of the information about the Colonies and of the improved feeling towards them now so prevalent in Great Britain.

The immediate practical outcome of this increased interest in colonial affairs was three fold:—the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, which through the great assemblage of industrial products brought thus together showed to the two to three millions of its visitors the immense resources of the empire; the founding of the Imperial Institute, to which so many sections of the empire contributed; and the Intercolonial Conference of 1887, convened in London by Hon. E. Stanhope, the Secretary of State, for the discussion of questions of military defence and postal and telegraphic communications.

But other forces were also at work to conciliate even the commercial community. When Belgian iron appeared in Staffordshire and German cutlery in Sheffield, though there was not much weakening of free trade theories, there was more sympathy with the Canadian manufacturer, who had to battle with the overproduction of the American market.

The Intercolonial Conference held at Ottawa in July last is the latest outcome of the desire for a closer bond of union, and taking place at a time when the Imperialistic sentiment was

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stronger, it attracted wider attention and is destined to secure more practical results than the London Conference of 1887. Convened by one of the colonies, it had also a greater official importance because it met the strong view expressed by Lord Salisbury, when premier, that the colonies themselves must take the next step towards closer union. Preferential trade and quicker direct communications by cable and steam were the themes of the Conference. These, carried into effect, will form the basis of a present quasi-union, and will, through riper intercourse and a better appreciation by the different sections of each other's sources, develope a closer bond. Time will smooth over difficulties which now appear formidable and will afford the opportunity for moulding men's thoughts to suit the coming change.

And now that the occasion has been so widely given for discussing the conclusions of the Conference, what may be considered as the view of the people of Great Britain in regard to them, and what the view of the Colonists themselves? Federation in the wider sense of an empire with a common tariff, and of Colonies with a full representation in the Imperial Parliament, has long since been considered, under present conditions, impracticable. Discussion has, however, now shown, on the one hand, that the Imperial Government would be supported by public opinion if it aided the cable and steamship proposals, and, on the other, that probably all of the colonies would be disposed to differentiate in trade matters in favour of one another and of the mother country. From all sides comes also the belief that quicker and more direct communication and better trade relations, if they can be arranged between the different parts of the empire, will lead to the intensifying of the national sentiment; to the drawing closer of the bonds which tend to make the people of the Colonies feel that they form part of the empire and not a mere adjunct; and, ultimately, perhaps, to all parts of the empire acting more in concert with each other in dealing in the questions of diplomacy and defence.

These are the anticipated results, but other indirect effects must follow. Hitherto the trend of emigration from the United Kingdom has been strongly towards the United States, and not altogether to the advantage of the empire. The leading elements in the current have been the Irish, who too often had had feel-

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ings of unrest intensified in the new world into open dislike for the empire which they had left behind. Those of the same race emigrating to the Colonies have made good and loyal citizens. Seeing, then, that sending to the Colonies those who will prove friends is better than planting possible enemies in a friendly foreign state, what is the great influence the Colonies under more closely knit bonds can exert in attracting immigration? Are not a brighter future and a home, if possible, among friends, the goals of the emigrant? Quite apart, then, from the effect of alien labor laws in the United States, must not the current to some extent be diverted to the colonies under the influence of expanding trade, greater demand for labor, better information about the Colonies, and increased interest in the empire?

Still another effect of closer relations will be the diversion to the colonies of a share of the surplus capital of the United Kingdom, which has hitherto so freely gone to foreign countries. Improved relations mean more opportunities for trade, and expanded trade means more numerous and more remunerative outlets for capital. Here, if we afford a measure of safety, lie the attractions to British capital. Great Britain's investments in foreign countries have been vast. It is difficult to even approximate their amount, but a partial guide is the London Stock Exchange Daily List. From it we learn that the foreign government securities, payable in London, England, aggregate nearly $3,600,000,000, and if to this be added an estimate of the amount held in the country of the same securities quoted on the Stock Exchange, but payable in foreign capitals, a sum of not less than $5,000,000,000, and it may be much more, represents British investments at their par value in foreign government securities alone. Unfortunately most of these obligations stand at a heavy discount. Colonial governments, on the other hand, are represented in the same lists by a sum slightly exceeding $1,300,000,000, and it is to the credit of these Colonies that, probably without an exception, their obligations stand at a premium—in some a large premium—on the price at which they were issued. Again, the quoted stocks and bonds of foreign railways floated in London—excluding those of the United States—aggregate a sum of over $760,000,000, and if to this be added—what must be mere conjecture—an amount equal to one-third of the railway stocks and

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and railway bonds of the United States quoted on the list, as representing the British share in the investments, we have towards $2,200,000,000 as Great Britain's contribution to the building of foreign railways. Its contribution to Indian and Colonial railways together, amounts to only $800,000,000. Without touching upon other industrial enterprises, or upon municipal loans, these somewhat conjectural figures sufficiently show the extent to which British capital has flowed into foreign channels in the past.

These are results which may be termed internal to the empire. There are results which may be termed external. One is the greater moral effect which an empire dominated by people chiefly of the same race and united for defence as well as in commercial interest, must have upon the nations. Such an assemblage of states, colonies and dependencies with their vigorous and increasing populations, occupying sections in every quarter of the globe and under every climate and producing or able to produce almost every known industrial product, must have an importance as a diplomatic and moral influence in the world outside. This influence will arise not only from the strength and unity of a great empire, the command of the vast resources which it possesses, and the courage and energy of its people, but also from the spirit of justice, which, in these later days, more and more inspires its dealings with other empires and states. This influence can only be for good in the councils of nations. and in the public opinion of their people.

Preferential trade is the proposal from the Conference, which presents the greatest difficulty to the English mind. It involves questions of markets, of treaties and, perhaps above all, of principle. Of Great Britain's imports, 77 per cent. is to foreign countries and only 28 per cent. to the British possessions. A preferential tax would considerably affect the proportions and help, it is true, the British possessions, but it might raise prices, and that is what Englishmen fear. The artisan dreads a tax, however light, on food products, the manufacturer fears lest a duty on his raw material may increase the cost of the finished product and hamper him in competition both at home and abroad, whilst the politician and manufacturer alike are apprehensive of retaliation in duties, which might result in foreign markets.

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Again, Great Britain derives certain trade advantages from the continuance of the German and Belgian treaties. How far would these be counter-balanced by corresponding advantages were the treaties abrogated at the request of the Colonies? Differential trade, however, disturbs the principle of free trade, and the average Englishmen who, born and brought up in the atmosphere of free trade, and relegating arguments to Peel, Cobden and Bright, knows only that the island has prospered since the budgets of 1842-5 and the repeal of the Corn laws, has come to believe that a great principle is involved almost sacred to the nation.

We can sympathize with the drift of thought in the English mind. Just at this juncture, however, is there not a nobler principle involved, worthy of even some sacrifice to maintain? There is the evolution of the nation as well as the evolution of man and of mind. The Colonies are reaching political manhood. Are the people of Great Britain conscious of the opportunity offered them of taking the leading part in building up and consolidating a greater empire? "Great economic and social forces," says the biographer of Cobden, "flow with a tidal sweep over communities that are only half conscious of that which is befalling them. Wise statesmen are those who fore-see what time is thus bringing, and endeavour to shape institutions, and to mould men's thought and purpose in accordance with the change that is silently surrounding them." The tide of Imperialism is on the flow, and he is the wise statesmen who will take advantage of this tide in earnest effort to consolidate the empire even though some sacrifice is involved.

And after all, is the sacrifice great? At the extraordinary low prices of food products now, and through the enlarged production of the world, no prospect of a return to former high prices, the effect of the slight preferential duty which the Colonies would expect, need hardly disturb the minds of the English statesman and the English artisan. The vast surplus of food supplies in the United States must find a sale, and so long as Britain remains the market which controls the range of prices, there are thousands who will argue that on the producer the duty must necessarily fall.

Again, whilst the trade of the United Kingdom with the British possessions is only, presently, one-third of that with foreign

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countries, Australia, Cape Colony and Canada export and import per head of population vastly more that any foreign country, and as these great colonies continue to increase in population and wealth, their aggregate trade with the United Kingdom must increase in a greater ratio as compared with that of foreign countries. Especially must this be the case with Canada if a differential duty diverts to any considerable extent to the United Kingdom its present trade with the United States. And, besides, it would not be the first time that Great Britain had legislation in favour of Colonial products. A differential advantage given to Colonial sugars and cottons was a feature of the tariff before the repeal of the Corn laws.

And with their world-wide experience in diplomacy, do English statesmen suppose that the small preferential duty which would be imposed on a certain few products would revoke retaliation? If a McKinley tariff and the taxation of a large range of products were in view, the subject would be worthy of very serious thought. In the case of food supplies, wherever the British market controls prices, there may be distinct advantages to continental nations in buying, for instance, in the United States at the lower prices which the British duty may entail.

The further considerations which must soon arise in the process of the unification of the empire, are the share which the Colonies are to assume in the cost of diplomacy and defence, and the representation which these Colonies are to have in the councils of the empire. With the desire so prevalent for a closer union, these are considerations which time cannot fail to solve.

Assuming that probably all of the wealthy Colonies will be ready to aid in maintaining diplomatic relations with foreign courts, and in bearing the burdens of defence, a suggestive course in providing for the cost would be by the imposition of a small tax on the registered shipping and on the total imports, of each colony. This would not only reach those who directly received the advantage of protection from the navy, but would spread the cost over the people of the Colony generally, and would be so light that it would hardly be felt.

Representation of the Colonies at Westminster has always presented a difficult problem, but, even there, the quasi-ambassa-

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dorial powers which we have given to our Commissioners and Agents-General suggest that if these representatives were made ex-officio members of the Imperial Parliament with the right to discuss and vote on foreign and Colonial questions it might afford a present temporary solution of the question. The general spirit of fairness which now pervades Parliament in considering Colonial questions would be a sufficient assurance to these representatives of the support they would receive. In the course of time, as the Colonies increased in population and importance, the interests involved would demand a larger and more effective representation, and especially might this be the case if a Home Rule bill gave seats at Westminster to a separated Ireland.

Whilst the Colonies are thus aspiring to the status of empire, how far are we, the inhabitants of these Colonies educating ourselves into a high standard of citizenship. There is still a better development needed in our national character—still great room for improvement in the moral force of our people. We in the Dominion want a greater infusion of a national sentiment which will find expression in a deeper love of our country, in a more healthy pride in our institutions and a more earnest determination to improve them. We want freedom of thought and action, untrammelled by prejudices of party, race or religion. We want our public offices filled by men who can show the recommendation of ability and honour and not by those whose chief claim is that they can establish their nationality or religious belief or that they have faithfully served their party. We want our civic affairs managed with intelligence and economy, and not made the sources of bribery and peculation. We want our politics freed from that phase of party which sees no virtue in an opponent and, because it is out of power, takes pride in depreciating its country, and equally from that phase of party which maintains power at the expense of a record which should be above reproach. Finally, we want each man to feel that he has a country to live for as well as a country to live in, and that, whatever his position in life, he can exercise some influence, however small, in giving the shape to the course of his country's future and force to its current.

A scheme more worthy of a statesman's efforts than even an Imperial union is a close permanent alliance between the two great English speaking nations, under which all their own differ-

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ences arising from time to time would be referred to arbitration, and each would afford to the other aid in case of aggression by other powers—the great purposes being the promotion of peace and prosperity, not merely among themselves, but among other nations as well. The world knows no more noble effort among nations than the promotion of peace and the suppression of the horrors of war. Why should not two such nations as Great Britain and the United States form a friendly, permanent alliance with these noble aims in view? The intelligence, education, enterprise and wealth of their people—all sources of power—have made these nations great; they are akin in blood and Christian sympathy; they have colossal business interests with each other which it would be folly to interrupt; and whilst the one has vast proprietary interests in every quarter of the globe and commercial interests with every nation, the other with its vigorous, energetic people, controls the more important part of a whole continent. Such an alliance would have an influence for good reaching far beyond the mere parties to it. Whilst it would ensure peace and encourage trade between these two nations themthemselves, it would tend largely to bring about peace throughout the civilized word. On the one hand, the alliance being defensive, not aggressive, would prevent either nation from lightly undertaking useless or preventable wars in which it might not have the sympathy of the other; on the other hand, the moral and diplomatic influence of the alliance on foreign powers would necessarily be most marked. What Bismarck, however confident of the strength and resources of his people, could hope to cope with the vigorous manhood and wealth of resource of Great Britain and the United States? And with the business interests of these two nations extending themselves to every part of importance in the six continents, what foreign powers entering into war with each other, and placing thus a barrier to the commerce of their ports, could afford to altogether disregard the diplomatic representation of the alliance, if made in the interests of peace and commerce?

Such an alliance would have other lasting effects on the people themselves. It means more friendly relations; a better recognition of the common parentage; more disposition to trade freely with each other; fewer strained constructions of acts of Parlia-

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ment and Congress to suit jealous competitors in trade; and fewer difficulties hitherto often purposely placed in the way of the settlement of international disputes.

With the large restless foreign element now so prominent a feature in the American population there is no hope that the War of Independence will ever be forgotten or regretted, no hope that Great Britain and the United States will ever assimilate their tariffs or become, both of them, converts to free trade, no hope that they will in the future be other than close commercial competitors in every foreign port, as well as at home, but there is a hope that with the intelligence, education and Christian principle which so eminently characterize their people, these two great nations can, in friendly alliance, be made the instruments for the promotion of peace and good will throughout the world.

A. T. DRUMMOND.

CICERO AS PROCONSUL.

"A wise man, my boy, a wise man and a lover of his country."

—AUGUSTUS TO HIS GRANDSON. QUOTED BY PLUTARCH.

NOT the least interesting episode in Cicero's life is his year in the proconsulate. The office had sought the man and it was accepted, at the call of duty, if not with alacrity, at least with resignation and a determination to serve the best interests of the provincials whom he was summoned to govern. Had he been anxious for such a position before, he could have had it before, and would no doubt, after his praetorship and after his consulship, have allowed his name to be submitted to the ballot by which every year the provincial governorships were distributed among the higher magistrates of the current year. But he had no need and no desire to pile up wealth or repair shattered fortunes in the usual proconsular way by the plunder and oppression of the provincials (it was the common method of setting a noble bankrupt on his legs); and besides he took much the same view of the provinces that a modern Englishman does of 'the colonies:'

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"I can scarcely bear the insipidity of everything here", he writes; and again: "Cling to the city, my friend, and live in her light. Every foreign employment is obscure and petty for those whose abilities can make them famous at Rome." Rome is to the Roman the centre of the world; she is the centre of civilization, of commerce, of literature, of society and refinement. She has not only destroyed the liberty of the outside world, but paralysed its activity. Once before, in the discharge of the duties of the quaestorship, Cicero had gone abroad as paymaster or minister of finance to the governor of the province of Sicily; and returning home at the close of the official year, filled with a sense of merit for disinterested public service and with confident anticipation of public commendation, he found to his astonishment that he had never been missed. Cicero's self-complacency (his greatest foible) did not easily recover from this shock and he resolved thenceforth to restrict his public activity to the Roman forum and senate-house. But in the year 52 B.C. Pompey (then sole consul) secured the assent of the people to a law (*Lex de jure magistratuum*) which obliged Cicero once more in the service of his country to leave the centre of affairs. By Pompey's law no ex-magistrate was to receive á provincial governorship until five years had elapsed from the expiration of his magistracy; meantime ex-consuls and ex-praetors, who had not held a provincial governorship under the old régime, were required to accept office. Cicero was accordingly appointed proconsul of Cilicia, a large province which included the southern half of Asia Minor and the island of Cyprus. Cilicia had been first occupied by Rome in B.C. 102, with a view to suppressing the piracy that had long infested the Mediterranean and had here its chief seat; but it was not till 64 B.C. that Pompey, after his crushing defeat of the Cilician corsairs, erected the country into a province, organized in the regular Roman way. The remnant of the pirate bands he settled in the Cilician city of Soli, a name curiously preserved in our word *solecism*, originally applied to certain deviations from linguistic usage allowed themselves by the people of this place. The capital of the new province he made Tarsus, no mean city even then, and celebrated for wit and a taste for intellectual pursuits, and in later times the centre of Christian interest as the birthplace of the apostle Paul.

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Pompey, at the same time, constituted the neighboring province of Syria, by which term was denoted the district running south from Cilicia to Egypt and east to the desert of Mesopotamia. Syria with Cilicia constituted the 'buffer state' between the Roman empire and the Parthians. This remarkable people—a never failing object of interest to the student of history as one of the few native populations that successfully defied the power of Rome—had, a year or two before Cicero's appointment to the proconsulship, inflicted a memorable defeat on the Romans under the triumvir Crassus on the fields of Carrhae and Sinnaca. Of forty thousand legionaries who had crossed the Euphrates, only some ten thousand returned to the province. The grey-haired general sought and found death upon the field. His head was cut off and sent as a trophy to the Parthian king, who, in mockery of the dead triumvir's greed, ordered the mouth to be filled with molten gold. It was indeed the menacing attitude of this brave and warlike people that had induced the Roman Senate, in whose jurisdiction the administration of provincial affairs lay, to appoint a man of consular rank like Cicero, to a province like Cilicia otherwise of small importance.

Cicero set out from Rome for his province on May 10th, B.C. 51; and from this date till his return to Italy in the end of November of the following year, a complete account of his movements is extant, contained in about forty letters (chiefly confidential, addressed to his friend Atticus) and two despatches to the home government.

After spending a few days at Tarentum with Pompey (Pompey, he said, would furnish him with some advice for the new undertaking), he sailed across the Adriatic to Actium, on the coast of Greece; and thence proceeded by land to Athens. He says that he suffered a good deal of inconvenience (from sea-sickness) in the passage across and concluded accordingly to continue his journey by land—especially as their might be some unpleasantness in doubling the next head-land preparatory to sailing up the Corinthian Gulf! The Romans were indeed wretched sailors, being much of Dr. Johnson's opinion that a ship—besides being in perpetual danger—was no better than a gaol. He reached his province the last day of July. His "progress" through Greece and Asia Minor, he says, excited

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considerable suprise; in fact men flocked from field and village to see him, as if he were a prodigy. It was not that he was the man who had saved the city from the villainy of Catiline and had received from the Senate the title of 'father of his country' (though all that was mentioned too); it was because he levied no contributions on the communities through which he passed! The right of requisition was the legal right of the Roman proconsul even when *en route* for his province. He was limited by law in his exactions to certain articles; but the law, as might be expected, was evaded. All kinds of requisitions were made. An official called Gaius Verres—though only a member of the governor's staff—once levied from the cities *for himself* on a similar progress about $200,000 in hard cash, not to mention the gems, vases, statues and paintings (he had a taste for art) of which he plundered private individuals. This was the natural result of a fundamentally bad principle of government. The provinces in theory were regarded as conquered countries; they were the 'landed estates of the Roman people.' The public administration, civil and military, was quartered upon them, and this opened the door in practice to the commission of the most glaring acts of extortion on the part of public officials. Cicero boasts to Atticus of his own moderation in the matter (he calls it 'incredible abstinence.' Not a single cent had been exacted from the towns along the route towards the expenses of himself or his staff. They did not accept even free lodging: they slept in their tents. He had come into the provinces to mitigate the severity of Roman rule and make it acceptable, if possible, to the provincial.

His own province—he soon found—required his best efforts in this direction. His predecessor in the proconsulate of Cilicia was Appius Claudius, a haughty member of the Roman nobility and a brother of that Publius Clodius—who had been the willing tool of the triumvirs in procuring Cicero's banishment in 58. Like most of the Roman nobility, Appius always treated Cicero with true patrician arrogance which indeed Cicero takes no small credit to himself for not resenting. But Appius was 'loyal' (i.e. a member of the same party) and with Cicero it was always the country and the constitution first. Appius was a man of influence and highly connected—Pompey's son had married one of his daughters, Brutus another—and it was important, in

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view of the political storm already threatening, that harmony should prevail among all who were loyal to the oligarchic regime. As a governor, Appius was neither better nor worse than the average Roman proconsul. He was indeed impeached for extortion and misgovernment on his return to Rome; but such impeachments were of too frequent occurrence to single anyone out as conspicuously infamous. But such a governor! "The province," Cicero says in a confidental letter to Atticus, "is simply ruined. It is the same story everywhere; people cannot pay their taxes. There are groans and cries from every district. Some of the atrocities committed by him are more like the acts of a wild beast than of a human being. Life is simply a burden." And again: "The province is drained dry by the expense he has put it to—to say nothing of the rapine and licentiousness of both himself and his staff." Such is the burden of Cicero's confidential correspondence. In his public despatches he makes no allusion to the condition of his province: the party interests involved were too serious; possibly such a state of things was nothing unusual.

That such should indeed have been the ordinary condition of the Roman provinces (i.e., of the world at large) in the time of Cicero, may well excite surprise. But the rule of the oligarchy, which had so long swayed the destiny of the great republic had failed; and nowhere so conspicuously and so dismally as in the provinces. The oligarchs were now engaged in a life and death struggle—hopeless and short-sighted—to perpetuate their own existence and their hands were full. But the Roman system of provincial government was vicious. The provinces had from the first been exploited in the interest of Roman revenue, and the wealth they poured into the exchequer had exempted the citizens of Rome from taxation for over one hundred years. The provincials had duties but no rights; the home government was not to be held responsible for their comfort or prosperity. Still, though the condition of the people was thus of minor importance, that of the land itself was the greatest. Roads were built, agriculture encouraged, and commercial centres established; public opinion severely condemned provincial misgovernment and oppression, and a standing court was instituted to check them. In spite of all, even when the central administration was sound and vigorous, evils

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must have arisen. But in Cicero's day the trials for provincial misgovernment were a mere mockery of justice: the courts were worked as a part of the political machine and a good governor ran as much risk of condemnation as did a bad one. If the jury was not accessible on this side and remained proof against the spirit of party, it was rarely inaccessible to bribes. A man might very well take his chance. Freed from all checks, far removed from the influence of public opinion, a Roman governor knew no restraint except his own humanity and self-respect. He often owed his appointment to the corrupt expenditure of money at home; the temptation was too great, human nature was too weak and he usually made haste—he had but one year—to recoup and enrich himself at the expense of the province. The means were ready to his hand; he was practically absolute, being supreme both in civil and military affairs. The Senate allowed him troops and ships and money (Cicero refunded $40,000 of the government grant, much to the disgust of his staff); but the theory was that such expenditure was solely for the protection of Roman citizens and Roman interests. The governor was empowered to levy both men and money from the provinces for their own defence. We know from Shakespeare's Falstaff how "damnably the king's press may be misused." And it was so here: Money was paid for exemption from military service, for exemption from quartering soldiers, and—in evasion of the law that ordered payment—in commutation of requisitions for military stores. And all this, over and above the regular money-tribute or the tax in kind paid to the central government and over and above the regular allowance made by the province to meet the governor's expenses (Cicero pocketed from this about $100,000). The country was in fact under martial law; the proconsul had the power of life and death, and his will was supreme. But he was not only commander-in-chief, he was also supreme judge. If he cared to hold the scales unevenly and bear out knavery against honesty, injustice never failed to command its price. The venality of the proconsular tribunals was simply notorious.

There were also minor exactions such as the robbery of gold and silver ornaments and of art treasures, demands from the provincials for money and wild beasts for the Roman shows, for

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money to satisfy the cupidity of the governor's staff, who were not likely to be behind their master in rapacity and for money to erect statues and temples in the provinces in honor of their tyrants.

But the extortions even of the proconsul and his staff sink into insignificance when compared with those of the Roman money-lender and the Roman publican, as the middleman who collected the taxes was called. The money-lenders swarmed like harpies over the empire, always ready to advance money to needy individuals or communities, at from twelve to forty-eight per cent., compound interest. Cities or princes that once fell into their toils had slight hope of extrication from what was nothing but a state of bondage. Arrears of interest were collected by the most rigorous process known to the law, or sometimes, when a pliant governor could be got, by military force.

The exactions of the publican were no less oppressive. The Roman system of collecting taxes was hoplessly bad: they were 'farmed' (as the phrase goes) by middlemen. All taxes, except the money-tribute, were put up at auction and let out to the highest bidder for a period of five years. This was the case with the octroi dues, the port or customs dues, and the tithes, which were paid in kind. The privilege of collection was bought up by companies of capitalists and exploited for what it would bring. They had to recoup themselves for their out-lay and they did it handsomely, at the expense of the provincials. They were thus of course always working for their own hand, the opportunity oppression was tempting, and the name of publican, by which they were usually known, became a by-word of reproach throughout the empire. The produce of the farm was at their mercy: it might be swept away at a moment's notice to pay the debt not only of the farmer himself but of the community to which he belonged. Stagnation and desolation followed in their train, with mental and physical inertia only broken when some act of unusual atrocity forced a cry of pain from the down-trodden provincial.

Cicero, as already stated, entered upon his official duties on July 31st, B.C. 51. He determined to give the first part of his year of office to the discharge of his military duties, and at once took the field with his little army. He had never been in camp since a boy of seventeen, and probably had never been in action in his life. But he behaved in the conduct of this campaign in a way not unworthy

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of a Roman imperator. He had sensibly secured the appointment of a batch of military men upon his staff. One of these was his own brother Quintus, a soldier of great prudence and gallantry who had served with distinction on Caesar's staff during the campaigns in Gaul. Another was Gaius Pomptinus, who, as governor of the old Roman province of Gaul, had won credit by his defeat of the Allobroges. Accompained by such distinguished captains, he took the field with confidence and marched to the eastern frontier of his province. The Parthians had crossed the Euphrates under Pacorus, the son of their king Orodes, and had advanced to the gates of Antioch in which city Cassius (afterwards the conspirator), who had been quaestor on the staff of Crassus and was now in charge of the province, had shut himself up with all his forces. On receipt of this intelligence, Cicero marched into Cappadocia which was more exposed, he says, to attack than Cilicia, and the rumor of his approach, he adds, both encouraged Cassius and alarmed the Parthians. Be that as it may, the Parthian attack on Antioch failed and they recrossed the Euphrates after suffering considerable loss at the hands of Cassius, including that of one of their generals. Pacorus, soon after, turned his arms against his own father and internal dissension among the Parthians prevented the renewal of their attack upon the Roman empire. Cicero advanced south and east as far as the foot of the Amanus range, with the view of holding the passes against any attack on the part of the enemy. He took the opportunity of reducing the independent tribes of this region who, secure in their mountain strongholds, had hitherto successfully defied the Roman arms. He pitched his camp at Issus, which his vanity did not allow him to forget was memorable as the scene of the defeat of the Persian king Darius by Alexander the Great (a greater general, he writes Atticus, than either Atticus or himself). The capital stronghold called Pendenissus, he invested in the Roman way with vallum and fosse and agger, and assailed with archers and engines of war, until, on the forty-seventh day of the siege, Pendenissus was taken and razed to the ground (Of course, he writes to Atticus, you will say you never heard the name before; but it is not my fault if the place is not in Aetolia or Macedonia). The booty—except the horses—was given to the soldiers; the inhabitants were sold as slaves (the amount realized was

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about half a million dollars); the proceeds were scrupulously paid into the state chest. Cicero had managed his first campaign with spirit and success and he was hailed "Imperator" by the soldiers on the field of battle, an honor which was usually followed by a triumph. The Senate appointed a public thanksgiving to the immortal gods in honor of his success, though Cato opposed the motion on the ground that it would be a greater honor if the credit of the victory were ascribed to the general himself. The triumph never came; men's minds were soon taken up with weightier matters.

All fear of the Parthian invasion having subsided, Cicero next turned his attention to his civil duties. With the object of bringing justice to the doors of the people of the whole province, the Romans usually established in every province a system of circuit courts. Cicero held such courts at Laodicea, Cibyra, and Apamea, and in Pamphilia, Lycaonia and Isauria. He won all hearts by his affability and courtesy. He made himself accessible to all. No one, who had a petition to offer or a wrong that required redress, had to seek access, he says, by means of a secretary or a groom of the bed-chamber. Men went straight to the proconsul himself. He respected the native laws and customs in his administration of justice; he examined the accounts of the native magistrates, and in some cases made them disgorge their ill-gotten gains; and, by scrupulously declining to make requisitions or accept presents, he enabled the communities to pay up their arrears to both money-lender and publican.

Two cases that came under his jurisdiction deserve attention, as illustrating at once the character of Cicero and the character of Rome's rule in the provinces. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, was one of those "client princes" whom Rome used as instruments of dominion to prepare their peoples for the ultimate acceptance of Roman rule. He had been specially commended to the new governor's care by the Senate; but Cicero writes Atticus that he did not know what he could do for him unless indeed he declared him bankrupt and repudiated his debts. He owed money to Marcus Brutus who was very anxious to have him 'squeezed' for the arrears of interest. Cicero told the king that he must pay up; but the difficulty of collecting the money exceeded the governor's ability; nothing could

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be got out of the king. He offered the governor a present for himself; but his revenue was already swallowed up (he said) *in paying interest on money he owed to Pompey*. This amounted to twenty-five thousand dollars a month!

The second case is even more astounding. Marcus Brutus had, by means of an agent called Scaptius, advanced a sum of money to the town of Salamis in Cyprus, at interest at the rate of forty-eight per cent. per annum. The rate was illegal; but a decree of the Roman Senate had been passed allowing interest to be collected as agreed upon in this particular bond. The agent Scaptius had been appointed to a military command under Appius, and, armed with this authority, had attempted to coerce the magistrates of Salamis to pay up. With the help of a troop of horse, he kept them imprisoned in the town-hall until five of their number were starved to death. A deputation from the island met Cicero on his arrival in Asia Minor and implored his protection. Cicero ordered the cavalry to be withdrawn. Scaptius had the effrontery to apply to Cicero for a re-appointment to his military command. Cicero declined: he would not give such a position to anyone engaged in trade in the country; he would, however, recover the money for Brutus. The Salaminians were ready to pay; in fact (they said) the present of money they annually made the Roman governor was more than the sum they owed to Brutus; and, as Cicero had declined this present, they were well able to pay. The only question was as to the amount of their debt. Cicero had already announced that he would recognise interest at twelve per cent. Nothing higher. Scaptius claimed forty-eight. This meant ruin for the town. They were willing to pay principal and interest to the amount of one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars; Scaptius claimed two hundred and fifty thousand. *He took Cicero aside* and begged him to let the matter stand over. He knew that the next governor would be more pliant. Cicero consented, though the Salaminians begged to be allowed to deposit the money in a temple to stop further interest from accruing. This piece of injustice Cicero perpetrated, not out of personal regard for Brutus, who, he says, always treated him in a dogmatic, disagreeable way, but in the interest of the republican oligarchy, with the perpetuation of which they both believed the existence of the country was bound up.

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The whole transaction reveals the famous liberator, Marcus Brutus, in a bad, though somewhat novel, light. He is usually regarded as one of the world's 'uncrowned kings.' Shakespeare, who represents Plutarch's view, calls him in the *Julius Caesar* "the noblest Roman of them all" and makes him say:

"For I can raise no money by vile means:
By heaven, I had rather coin my heart,
And drop my blood for drachms, than to wring
From the hard hands of peasants their vile trash."

Such is not the judgment of history. But we are bound to believe that Brutus was no worse than the rest—perhaps better. If so, it is not hard to see why the days of the Roman oligarchy were even then numbered. The lust of wealth had eaten like a canker into the Roman heart and driven out reason and humanity and true patriotism. The public men of Rome seemed like nothing so much as a herd of swine rushing violently down a steep place into the sea.

Cicero himself appears, as he always does appear—and no public man of ancient or modern times is more accurately known—not as a paragon of all excellence as represented in the pages of Dr. Conyers Middleton or, as Mommsen would have us believe, as a weak-kneed, unprincipled trimmer—but as a man, vain indeed, but of generous impulses and transparent honesty of intention driven by politicial exigency and mistaken patriotism to make an evil compromise with high principle.

J. FLETCHER.

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CRITICAL NOTES.

SHELLEY AND BROWNING.

THEY were very unlike each other, Shelley and Browning in the form and substance of their poetry. Shelley seems nearly always to be dealing with great abstractions, vague Pantheistic conceptions of life, gigantic syntheses of history which annihilate the social and political differences of centuries as if they were hardly worth noticing. An epic written by him on Moses, or Mahomet or Napoleon would not exhibit any substantial difference with the different subjects. It would be a representation of the same struggle between the eternal despot, the oppressor of the human race, and that eternal slave to laws, conventions and hypocrisies, the mass of mankind, with all the modifying circumstances of environment and civilisation omitted. In his poems the *dramatis personae* are mostly great symbols, Promethens and the Oceanides, Alastor and the witch of Atlas. Symbolic serpents and eagles, blood-red comets and stars, abyssmal caverns, trackless oceans, and voices weird and solemn remind us more of the author of the Apocalypse than of any writings which are known as poetry. In such a world the individual is almost lost. He is a mere name, a symbol, a leaf blown about by the winds and tossed up in the front of the great revolutions and cataclysms of the human race. Shelley's place amongst English poets may be differently estimated, but even those who estimate it most highly will hardly claim that he has added a single really human type to that great gallery of 'men and women' which literature has created and endowed with a reality as lasting as that which belongs to the heroes and notabilities of history.

With Browning it is precisely the reverse. He is essentially dramatic and concrete and in all his poems the centre of interest is an individual life. He knows the movement of the ages and the high generalisations of philosophy as well as Shelley, perhaps even more critically, but it is only as these agitate the life of the individual and are reflected in it that he takes notice of them. He would never, as Shelley does, write a hymn to Intellectual Beauty in the abstract, but in the rhapsody of Abt Vogler, in the disciple's chant over his dead master, the Grammarian, in Rabbi Ben Ezra, or Pictor Ignotus, there

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is the individualized form, the incarnation so to speak of Shelley's conception; and while nothing is lost of its wonder and glory, its reality for the ordinary reader at least is much more manifest.

Hence though both are equally priests and worshippers of the ideal, interpreters of what is mysterious and infinite in the nature of man, Browning who can discern that element even in what we might consider weak and disordered forms of individual life has a joyous and exuberant energy, a delight in life which is not in Shelley. Even in face of the great shadows of existence, in face of sorrow, or failure, or death, Browning's voice in robust and triumphant. His optimism is invincible because it is based on his strong sense of life and wise acceptance of its facts.

Shelley on the other hand is the most uniformly sad of our great poets. There is a deep melancholy in most of his poetry. He is constantly striving to define or body forth some infinite form of existance or power in nature and history in comparison with which the life of the individual is as nothing. To use a phrase of Hugo's, he is always gazing into the abyss, contemplating that great process of decay by which all individual existence is sinking back into the sea of Being from which it arose. The world of Shelley's thought though it has a certain grandeur, even sublimity, is cold and gloomy. It is curious to notice what a prominent place images of ruin and decay have in his poetry. His vein in this respect is unsurpassed. What an image that is, for instance, in the *Adonais*, of old Rome, the Rome of the Popes and cardinals, as it was fifty years ago!

> And grey walls moulder round, on which dull Time
> Feeds, like slow fire upon a hoary brand.

I open Shelley at any page almost and come upon such images of ruin and decay as these

> Like the last glare of day's red agony.
> Death feeds on his mute voice.
>
> Where marble demons watch
> The Zodiac's brazen mystery, and dead men
> Hang their mute thoughts on the mute walls around.

and a hundred others all eloquently expressive of the sombre tint of Shelley's imagination.

There is an interesting example of the difference of spirit between the two great poets. Both are looking on a scene almost the same of the Italy they loved so well, the seashore near Naples with its

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magnificent coast line, its heights, its opulence of colour and sunshine. And nothing surely could excel the manner in which Shelley has described the delicate, evanescent yet escential features of the scene, the all pervading light and warmth of Italian landscape.

The sun is warm, the sky is clear,
The waves are dancing fast and bright,
Blue isles and snowy mountains wear
The purple noon's transparent light
Around its unexpanded buds;
Like many a voice of one delight,
The winds, the birds, the ocean floods,
The City's voice itself is soft, like Solitude's.

I see the Deep's untrampled floor
With green and purple seaweeds strown;
I see the waves upon the shore,
Like light dissolved in star-showers, thrown:
I sit upon the sands alone,
The lightning of the noon-tide ocean
Is flashing around me, and a tone
Arises from its measured motion,
How sweet! did any heart now share in my motion.

But even in these beautiful verses there is an undertone of melancholy which makes itself felt in a certain settled gravity of accent and rhythm. The shadow is there however softly it sleeps on the surface. And in the next stanza the habitual melancholy of Shelley has broken out in an cry almost of despair.

Alas! I have nor hope nor health,
Nor peace within nor calm around,
Nor that content surpassing wealth
The sage in meditation found.

That is the cry which the sight of the Bay of Baiæ in all its noontide glory awakes in the heart of Shelley.

It is true these are 'Stanzas written in dejection', but except in a few short lyrics, this tone of melancholy is never altogether absent from his poetry. And the cause of it is that his poetry contains so little of what is concrete, so little of the actual movement of life, and so much contemplation of the infinite and the ideal in a form which seems to destroy instead of stimulating our sense of the individual life. This isolates him from the sympathies of ordinary humanity. And

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he feels his isolation and in his proud sad way laments it as part of his destiny

> Some might lament that I were cold,
> As I, when this sweet day is gone,
> Which my lost heart, too soon grown cold,
> Insults with this untimely moan:
> They might lament—*for I am one*
> *When men love not;—and yet regret.*

A sick eagle, lonely on the heights! while below in the lower air, the swallow is merrily hunting his prey and fields of crows are busy picking up worms in their cheerful gregarious way.

In Browning's poem, *The Englishman in Italy*, it is virtually the same scene, but how differently seen and pictured for us. There are vivid details, strong descriptive touches in it—

> Oh, those mountains, their infinite movement!
> Still moving with you.

but there is nothing that approaches the breadth and harmony of Shelley's picture of sound and light and movement on the noon-tide ocean. What Browning does give us, however, with extraordinary fullness and power is the way in which men live on this spot of earth. For though he is no landscape painter like Wordsworth and Shelly, he has a picturesque stroke of his own, very novel and powerful in description.

His picture of the Italian fisherman is a good example of his manner, the fisherman who arrives daily from Amalfi and pitches down

> his basket before us,
> All trembling alive
> With pink and grey jellies, your sea-fruit;
> You touch the strange lumps,
> And mouths gape there, eyes open, all manner
> Of horns and of humps,
> Which only the fisher looks grave at,
> While round him like imps
> Cling screaming the children as naked
> And brown as his shrimps.

What a strange manner that is! robust and natural even to roughness, disregardful of the old standards of elegance in style,

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but there is a wonderful faculty of representing life and nature truly and vividly in it, and there is a subtle charm in the perfect freedom ahd spontaneity of its movement. And it is capable not only of such realistic pictures, in which Browning is hardly to be rivalled; it has its higher notes sage and solemn as the music of the epic poet, and yet still preserving that fundamental characteristic of free and natural movement.

Over all trod my mule with the caution
Of gleaners o'er sheaves,
Still foot after foot like a lady:
So, round after round,
He climbed to the top of Calvano,
And God's own profound
Was above me, and round me the mountains,
And under, the sea,
And within me my heart to bear witness
What was and shall be.
Oh, heaven and the terrible crystal!
No rampart excludes
Your eye from the life to be lived
In the blue solitudes.
Oh, those mountains, their infinite movement!
Still moving with you;
For, ever some new head and breast of them
Thrusts into view
To observe the intruder.

In these lines one may feel the difference between the spirit of Browning's poetry and that of Shelley's. Browning has unfailing interest in the life of the individual and rejoices in all forms of its manifestation. In his poem there is the bounding rhythm and energetic phrase of a hopeful exuberant life. It is a psalm of faith and delight in creation.—'The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof.' While Shelley absorbed in transcendent contemplation and gazing fixedly at the absolute has almost lost touch with the common life of men. Nevertheless there is a strong affinity between those two. With both poetry is a philosophy of life and both in their different ways take hold of that which is abiding and eternal in it, Shelley in his high flight through the empyrean of philosophic ideas, Browning in his profound analysis of life in its manifold individual forms. Neither

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has ever spent a rhyme on the merely picturesque, or the sentimental or the romantic, and the poetry of both is still perhaps to a great extent unreadable for those who cannot escape from the conventional and traditional aspects of life into the genuine freedom of the ideal. Some sense of this fact probably prompted that incomparable tribute which Browning long ago, before he too became a mighty name, and even in a way popular, paid to Shelley in his poem of *Pauline*

Sun-treader, life and light be thine forever.

If anyone wants to know what new development of English blank sense has taken place since Wordsworth, let him read that and the next nine lines in *Pauline*, which he will find quoted on another page of this issue.

JAMES CAPPON.

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CURRENT EVENTS.

TO the average man, the war between China and Japan concerning Corea is unintelligible in its causes, operations and probable results. He is interested, as he would be in a dog-fight. He has a hazy idea that the war may be good for trade somehow and possibly bad for trade. If a soldier, even a citizen-soldier, he is sure that Russia is pulling the strings, and that it behoves Britain to keep her eyes open to secure equivalent advantages. If he is interested in missions, he is anxious to know whether the Churches should send in more agents or hold their hands or recall the men and women now at work. But, all the time he is groping in the dark. "White men mighty onsartin," remarked an Indian, who felt that he was incapable of understanding white mens' motives and unable therefore to predict what they were likely to do. Whites feel a similar helplessness in dealing with yellows, with a semi-contemptuous conviction that it is hardly worth knowing. They forget what a great part Tartars have played in history and that the race, possessed of modern implements of war, and without the moral restraints imposed on us by religion and habit, might possibly again play havoc on a terrible scale; and that wars like the present are calculated to give them that familiarity with new weapons, which is the one thing they lack.

The War between China and Japan.

In this condition of mind, compounded of nine parts of ignorance and one of indifference, he learns nothing by reading the telegraphic despatches concerning marches, battles, sinking of ships, uprisings of the Coreans, and the other details of the campaign. In every account, Japanese might be substituted for Chinese or *vice versa*, and the net result so far as real knowledge of the state of affairs is concerned would be the same on the mind. All that can be done is to wait for the end of the war; or, a very big brush should be used. Unfortunately that can be used by few, and of these some use it on one side and some on the other.

A possible war between Britain and Russia, has been likened to a conflict between a whale and an elephant. Neither could win, for neither could get at the other. It is much the same with China and Japan. Japan could no more conquer and hold China than Britain could conquer and hold Europe. Even to hold France, when France was humbled and distracted, was more than she could manage. For an island kingdom of forty millions of people to subjugate a continental people of four hundred millions is an impossibility. Japan's measure of success is likely to depend on two factors,—the quality of the new soldiery and the extent to which China is honeycombed with disaffection towards the Manchu dynasty. As to the first, it is continually

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forgotten by papers, generally well-informed, that the rank and file are no longer the old Samurai class, the best swordsmen in the world, and perfect dare-devils. Those men, the military retainers of the daimios or hereditary nobles, would have made splendid soldiers, but when the feudal system broke up a generation ago, it was thought wise to put them in positions where they would be least dangerous to the new order of things. They became officers, civil servants, policemen or pensioners, and the army was largely recruited from the lower classes. It has yet to be proved that the new material is equal to the two-sworded "Knights" of the olden times, proud of their silken robes and the crest of their clan, prouder still of the swords their ancestors left them, who disdained work or business, and felt that the slightest stain on their honour or reflection on their courage must be avenged by death. The equipment of the new army appears to be complete, even to ambulance trains, but it is not likely to be more complete nor the officers any better than those of the French in Tonquin, who—though always gaining victories—in the end agreed to a peace which left the fruits of victory with China. The one hope that Japan might entertain is the capture of Pekin, and consequent internal rebellions which would paralyse the Chinese Government. The first, however, is a much more difficult nut to crack than is supposed. It could hardly be accomplished without the total defeat of the Chinese fleet and the destruction of the fortresses which guard the opposite sides of the entrance to the Gulf of Pe-Chi-li. As to the second, no one can speak positively.

THAT China should overrun and hold Japan is equally out of the question. The London Spectator thinks otherwise. The war, it says, may develope a Tartar General of ability, who—after crushing the enemy in Corea, might conceivably throw 100,000 men across the narrow sea and conquer Japan, seeing that there is no such thing as patriotism among Oriental peoples. The writer evidently knows nothing of Japanese history and character, and above all of their universal and passionate patriotism. China has tried invasion before and with an "Invincible Armada" too, but the experience was as decisive as it was in the case of Spain against England. In the 17th Century, the Mougol Tartars having overcome the Sung dynasty in China and conquered the adjoining countries, sent embassies to Japan, demanding tribute and homage. They were sent home again, with a haughty answer. Other envoys came and their heads were cut off. Hostile expeditions were tried, and as they accomplished nothing, it was determined, in 1281, that the island kingdom should be swallowed up. 3,500 ships, with 100,000 Chinese and Tartars and 7,000 Coreans, sailed for Japan. Only 3 of the soldiers ever saw China again, and these were sent back to tell the tale. In the national feeling which was aroused, in the religious enthusiasm of the people, in the cyclone which burst on the invading fleet, and in the slaughter of those who made the land, the story reminds us of the Spanish Armada episode in English history. No invasion has been attempted since. To

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transport a force adequate to conquer forty millions of people attached to their own soil, proud of their history, brave, skilful and united would be an impossibility for China, even with all the advantages that steam-power gives to an invader. If the Japanese are not patriotic, we must find a new definition for tne term. They are willing to make any sacrifice for their country, and would attempt the impossible rather than submit to national dishonour.

THAT Japan should hold Corea permanently is also out of the question. It would be more dangerous for China to have such a neighbour flanking Pekin that it would be for England to have France in complete possession of Belgium and Holland. China would fight for generations rather than accept peace on such terms. It is one thing for Japan to beat the Chinese and Corean armies. She has done that before and she can do it again. She has even held Corea for years, gaining great glory but draining away her blood and treasure thereby. In the end, however, she had to leave. And, if she had only to reckon with China, she would have to leave again. She cannot afford a thirty years war, for modern war is expensive and her resources are not exhaustless. But she knows that Russia too would not allow her to annex Corea, unless for a price that would be her sure eventual ruin. In the meanwhile, Russia is not ill-pleased to see the two Eastern powers, with whom she has to deal, weakening themselves. If it amuses them, it certainly does not hurt her. As for Britain, her voluntary surrender of Port Hamilton proved what her policy was. Unlike Russia, she has no sinister end to gain, and Japan, if wise, will seek through her good offices to establish administrative reforms in Corea on an international basis, and then retire. Will she be content with this, in the hour of victory? Magnanimity, on the part of individuals and nations, is true wisdom, but history shows so little of it, that no nation is in a position to throw stones at another. Japan is more likely to strike for Pekin, and, if so, she takes heavy risks. In justice to her, let it be understood that for years Corea has treated with indifference her well-founded complaints of injustice, and that China has been contemptuous. The idea that Japan entered on the war as a political move, in order that the Cabinet might make some political capital, is preposterous. Japan has larger trade interests in Corea thay any or all other countries, and she has a right to insist that these shall be protected. Whether she could have secured this end without going to war is a question. My own opinion is that she exercised forbearance for a longer time than any European country would have shown, and that longer delay could not have been expected. The people, as one man, are behind the Government, and they are the best judges of their own honour and interests. They declare that they are not fighting for conquest; that they ask for nothing but the observance of treaties; and that it will please them better to see Corea secure from all foreign control than to have it as a Province of Japan.

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AFTER four years of labour pains, the Democratic party in the States has brought forth the Gorman Bill. How deep the President's resentment is we may judge from his letter to Mr. Cutchings, and how bitterly the best men in the party are disappointed, the elections in Maine and Vermont show. The November elections will probably prove that the same feeling extends all over the country. Canada has had a lesson, in letters sufficiently large for the unlearned to read, on the difference between the constitutions of the two countries, as well as a lesson on the danger of fostering special interests, in which "the communism of pelf" must be stronger than even the cohesion of party.

President Cleveland and the Gorman Bill.

In 1890, a combination of protected interests passed the McKinley Bill. It was the most complete system of "scientific protection" ever evolved on this continent, for it aimed at protecting all classes. The agricultural clauses were not drawn in a spirit of hostility to Canada, as has sometimes been said, but simply that the farmers of the States contiguous to Canada might have their fair share of protection. Many of our own farmers, who are opposed to the protection of coal oil and store goods, are eager to be protected against American corn and pork. The American farmer was more reasonable. He was willing to bless the manufacturers but he asked a share of the blessing for himself. McKinley, accordingly, threw his shield round him, and the Senate was so "fixed" by the admission of new, scantily-peopled Republican States, that it was believed that it would be impossible to throw off the shield for at least eight years. The November elections of 1890, however, showed that the people at large did not appreciate the blessing even of scientific protection. To the amazement of good Republicans they kicked vigorously, by sending an overwhelming Democratic majority to Congress. That would have settled McKinley at once, had the States only had the Constitution of Canada; but in the land of freedom, the Senate has co-ordinate powers with the people's House and nothing could be done. Give McKinley time; let him have a fair chance, his friends said, and the people will see his beauty. The Constitution gave what they asked for; but with the lapse of years, he seemed more objectionable than ever, and in 1892 the Republican rout was so complete that—contrary to all expectations—the Senate was captured as well as the Executive and the Congress. Again, had the States only had our Constitution, the popular mandate would have been instantly obeyed; but in the land where alone there is "government of the people, by the people, for the people," McKinley still reigned supreme till last August, and when he stepped down, his place was taken, not by Wilson who represented the Democratic party, but by Gorman, who represented the Sugar Trust!

THE victory of the protected interests is complete. They have not only baffled the popular will again and again, but they have degraded the branch of their Legislature which had hitherto been honoured by the world. Freeman declared that the U. S. Senate

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was as much superior to the House of Lords as Congress was inferior to the House of Commons. If the great historian were alive now, he would have to give a different verdict. For, at any rate, the House of Lords has never been even suspected of boodling or condoning it in any of its members. But when one Senator confesses that he had "inadvertently" ordered his broker to buy stock in the Sugar Trust, while the duty was pending, and others let it be known that the Trust must be satisfied, and the representatives of other interests insisted on their pound of flesh, and when—in conference with the popular house—the representatives of the Senate took the position that they had come, not to confer or to compromise, much less to yield, and that the question was simply between their Bill or no tariff legislation at all, what can be said for the Senate? No despot would ever have attempted, against the expressed will of the people, what the Senators have done. The House of Lords dare not touch a money bill. They accepted, last Session, Sir William Vernon Harcourt's Budget, though it was ostentatiously and almost insolently directed against themselves. But in the States, a handful of millionaires or the lacqueys of millionaires laugh at the people and at their own party platform, clap on new taxes and enrich themselves or the rings they represent with the spoils Strange to say, there is scarcely a murmur of popular discontent. Murmurs might be interpreted as meaning that the Constitution of the United States is not perfect, and it is safer to rail at the Almighty than at the Constitution. It is impossible not to admire this sturdy faith. Our neighbours come of a good stock. The old English tenacity, the *nolumus leges Angliae mutare*, is evidently in them. They are likely to accomplish something great in the world. At any rate, a high authority has said that a nation, without deeply rooted Conservative instincts, cannot accomplish anything.

THE President was too strong for the rings on the Silver question, but they had their revenge when it came to the tariff. His own action helped them, though he meant far otherwise. Long before this, he must have felt that his letter to Mr. Wilson was a mistake. It should not have been written, unless he had made up his mind to veto, in case the Senate insisted on the Gorman Bill. That letter put him in the power of the Senators whom he had previously angered, and it misled people who believed that he was a man whom party necessities could not bend, a man who would not change if once the word went forth from his lips. Perhaps his success with the Silver Bill, and the universal approval which greeted his letter to Governor Altgeld and his proclamation in sending the troops to Chicago, made him fancy that a strong letter would stiffen his party in Congress and evoke a national sentiment so universal as to make the Senators quail. But the circumstances were different and circumstances alter cases. The majority of the Republican Senators were with him in the fight for honest money. Well they might, for the strength of their party is in States which do not produce silver and

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which have no idea of enacting that fifty cents make a dollar. The Chicago riots, with the attitude of the Governor and the municipal authorities, threatened society, and the wide-spread paralysis alike of trade, of travel and of authority so alarmed people that a universal sigh of relief went up when a strong voice was heard, declaring that order would be maintained. But the tariff, unfortunately, is a party question, and the mass of the American people know nothing of economic principles. They know when they are hurt, but to know what hurts them is another thing. The Republicans as a body are still wedded to protection, and there was only an uncertain Democratic majority of four or five in the Senate. Such a letter as that to Mr. Wilson put their backs up. To be told that they had betrayed their trust and that their Bill was a fraud was too much for human nature, especially when the language came from the head of their party. If he thinks so, why did he not let us know unmistakably, before we had committed ourselves, was a natural rejoinder. They determined therefore to stand together, and when that was known, the party in Congress had to stand with them. They could not go back to their constituents, confessing that they had not been able to do anything. That left the President standing alone. What was he to do? He could not sign the Bill which he had denounced. But to veto it was leave McKinley in possession. Never was a President in a more cruel strait. A strong man is expected to say yea or nay. He said neither, and the Bill became law, just as if there had been no President.

Did he take the right course? The majority answers yes. The Gorman Bill was better than the McKinley and he had no right to deprive the people of its benefits. A minority answers no. The national honour is of more consequence than a measure of tariff relief and the President had declared the Gorman Bill a dishonour. Had he acted up to that declaration, the people would have vindicated him and punished the traitors. As it is, the traitors have won, and the Sugar Trust and its friends pocket forty millions, with the added satisfaction of knowing that they forced Mr. Cleveland—the strongest President since Lincoln—to practically abdicate his position. In his letter to Mr. Wilson he sounded the trumpet as leader, but when the time came to lead, he announced himself as one of the rank and file. The sound of the trumpet meant then not war but bluff, and Mr. Cleveland is the one man from whom bluff was not expected.

Of course, the pressure was so great that only granite could have resisted. Had he stood firm, what would have happened? Unspeakable confusion for a time, and then a clear issue between the parties, with Mr. Cleveland as leader of one party. Now, there is neither a clear issue nor a leader.

THE terrible revelations of 1891, concerning the Public Works Department of the Dominion and Quebec Provinces, aroused the conscience of the people, and the prosecutions which were undertaken promised a new regime. It was understood that Sir John

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The Curran Bridge Scandal.

Thompson had taken a decided stand and that Sir John Abbott was with him. But the cancer is very deep, as deep at any rate as the party system, and the disease is showing itself again as foul as ever. Nothing certainly could be more complete than the corruption connected with the Lachine Canal Bridges. So numerous and experienced were theforces engaged in the conspiracy of plunder, that Mr. Haggart professed himself unable, even with the help of detectives, to get at the heart of the business. Indeed, he naively confessed that he was not aware of anything being amiss until he read an item in the Montreal Star! Here was public work going on, costing hundreds of thousands of dollars more than the estimates, but the Department—presided over by a responsible Minister, with a capable Engineer-in-chief and scores of skilled employees—is dependent for information on a newspaper costing one cent! It would appear that the country should employ a newspaper staff or in some way change its system or its men. According to the inquiry made by the Public Accounts Committee, the excess in the cost of the work was about $200,000, and he must be an extremely credulous person who fancies that the Committee detected everything. Some subordinates were dismissed and a promise was given—not yet fulfilled—to prosecute the contractor. A new view of the matter, however, is now given by another member of the Cabinet, the Hon. Mr. Ouimet. According to him, there was nothing wrong about the business, and people, instead of referring to it should speak only of what Count Mercier did in 1891. His words to the electors at L'Assomption, on Sept. 18th, are so unequivocal that—if true—the subordinates who were dismissed should be reinstated, with a public apology. "The Liberals," he said, "would speak about the Curran bridge! The Baie des Chaleurs scandal was more seasonable, considering the weather. The Curran Bridge had cost dear, but not more than it ought to have cost. The work had had to be performed rapidly. Every day that it remained unfinished after the opening of navigation would have cost the mercantile community at least a hundred thousand dollars. Men had, therefore, to be kept at work night and day, and the extra expense had been unavoidable." ! ! !

How extremely satisfactory to be assured of this! Only a very unreasonable critic would ask why Mr. Ouimet was unable to satisfy so *exigeant* a colleague as Mr. Haggart, or to defend the extra expense either in Parliament or before the Public Accounts Committee. Probably the same critic might add that, when all the circumstances of this case are considered, the defence shows a more shocking condition of affairs than the crime.

For, since Mr. Ouimet delivered himself, Mr. Justice Burbidge has pronounced on part of the case, and when a Judge speaks from the bench, our judgment is no longer tossed to and fro between rival politicians and party organs. The feet of the poor public are then on a rock. His Lordship, in rendering judgment in the Exchequer Court, on a petition of the contractor, which was dismissed with costs, made some startling statements. The same person, it would seem, acted as time-keeper for and took pay from both the contractor and

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the Crown! Is that the principle on which the Department of Railways or Public Works usually acts? Again, of a total claim of $284,192, there were proper certificates for $80,384. For the balance of $203,798 the certificates were "to say the least, utterly valueless!" The only marvel is that the Department should have been careful about $80,000, when it was quite indifferent about $203,000. Further, the contractor had deliberately destroyed his books and papers, and yet came into court as a supplicant for justice! He and his friends should certainly get justice. Again, "The excessive cost of the work might be charged partly to the idling on the part of the men, but the evidence pointed rather to a falsification of the pay lists as the principal cause. Evidence showed that the supplicant did not hestitate to falsify his accounts!" We now see what a Minister of the Crown means when he declares that the extra expense of the work in question was "unavoidable."

IT is difficult to write of such a case with calmness; still more difficult when it is only a specimen, and when it is remembered that in the last days of the last session of Parliament over four millions of dollars were voted, in the face of a steadily falling revenue, as subsidies for railways which are purely local and which will now assuredly be "milked" for the party. Men may differ in opinion about the tariff. They may think it right to tax an article of general consumption, like coal oil, one hundred per cent., or practically to shut our ports against British goods, though Britain is the one sure market for our stuff and though our national interests are the same as hers and she has to pay the piper for their defence. Arguments can be made on different sides of such questions and we must listen to them and answer them respectfully. But no argument can be constructed in favour of systematically robbing the public strong-box, with the tacit consent of a guardian of the strong-box, and his denial afterwards that there has been any robbery at all. By these things a country loses its soul. If we cannot stamp these things out, we are not fit to be free. The interest of the whole is the interest of each part, and each citizen is therefore bound by the very instinct of self-preservation to register a vow before the altar of his conscience that, so far as he has the power, these things shall for ever cease and determine in Canada.

CORRUPTION, condoned by Cabinet Ministers, penetrates to the lowest stratum of society. At the meeting of the electors of L'Assomption already referred to, ex-alderman Jeannote, the sitting member, gave a lucid explanation of what he had done for them. "He pointed to the number of positions which he had secured for electors of L'Assomption County. Appointments to the aggregate value of $6752 annually had been obtained for them through his influence in the corporation of Montreal. The money that paid them did not come out of the pockets of his electors; it was the citizens of Montreal who were taxed for them. He had secured four Govern-

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ment posts for his friends last year. *There were still more to be secured in the future.* His electors would always find him their faithful and devoted servant. He was comfortably off, and a bachelor, which left him free to look after their interests."

This is delicious. Other members do such things but, as a tribute to public decency, keep them a dead secret. But, Mr. Jeannote has no mawkish scruples. He publishes his good deeds from the house-top. And, though the meeting was a joint one, and Mr. Tarte was present for the opposition, no one uttered a word of protest. Mr. Tarte cared for only one thing. The Government, in defiance of the Constitution, must disallow the Manitoba school-law. "My heart," he said, "melts at the sight of my fellow-countrymen ill-treated." Mr. Ouimet agreed with him that the one thing needful was that children in Manitoba "should learn on the school-benches the religious principles which make good citizens." How edifying this mutual zeal for religion! It reminds us of the husband protesting love for his wife in public and vehemently kissing her photograph, while every one knew that at home he starved her, stripped her and beat her within an inch of her life. For, while there may be ecclesiasticism, these cannot be religion without morality, and public is as imperative as private morality. From the platform there was only praise for the good Mr. Jeannote. "Your member" said the representative of the Government to the assembled people, "had the quality of independence, and that was a quality which a Goverment appreciated. It was from the independent members that they expected and received valuable suggestions for their guidance, and the value of such members could not be over-estimated!"

There is nothing in Pickwick to beat this. If Grip does not draw this picture of "the independent members," it should be sent to Punch. But, what a difficult country Canada is to govern, when politicians openly avow that it must be governed on the principle of buying the members and of the members buying their constituents! Who does not long for a true national party to arise? Will the Patrons of Industry prove to be such a party? As our farmers must eventually bear the main burden of government, purity and economy of administration concern them directly. They represent, too, the best elements of the population, and if they can be aroused and organized, they can do what they please, if only they understand that their great duty is to select honest and capable leaders. A farmer can betray a cause just as readily as a lawyer, and once he has secured an office as his price, he can snap his fingers at angry constituents. The Patrons had better look out for two or three men out of whom statesman can be made. Let them think not of the calling of the Candidate, but of their own platform and of the capacity of the Candidate to get it manufactured into law at Ottawa. G.

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QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE GREAT NORTH-WEST.

I.—IMMIGRATION AND TRANSPORTATION.

THE Great North-West, as a name at least, commonly surrounded with a halo of superlatives, has been familiar enough to most Canadians for a considerable time. Yet there are probably few names so familiar which convey so imperfect an idea of what they represent. Before going out to see something of the territories for myself, I found that, in my own case, I had developed two quite distinct, and in some measure conflicting ideas answering to the name North-West. The one, corresponding to the great North-West with the retinue of superlatives, was obtained by reading Government pamphlets and settler's guides, C. P. R. literature of a similar type, and articles on the territories and the railroad, in various Canadian and English periodicals, from the pens of a number of enthusiastic writers who are the chief ornaments of the Canadian school of patriots. The other, a much narrower, more localized and much less splendid, but withal more human idea, was derived mainly from conversations with persons who had lived in widely different parts of the North-West, and who, while tolerably well satisfied with their lot, were not rendered arrogant by unusual good fortune.

During the past summer, being invited to give a course of University Extension lectures on Political Science in southern Alberta, I gladly availed myself of the opportunity which I expected this would give me of meeting and discussing the terri-

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torial questions of the day with some of the more intelligent residents of an important division of the North-West. My expectations were not disappointed; but much of the information which I gathered from many sources was quite novel and unlooked for.

After completing the Extension course, I continued my observations in other parts of the territory, sharing the life and enjoying the hospitality of the farmers and ranchers, coursing over the prairies and foot-hills on sturdy broncos, and getting as closely as possible into touch with the life and ideas of the settlers. When three months of such varied experiences had passed, I found most of my old ideas of the North-West, and of Alberta in particular, quite revolutionized.

It is altogether impossible to express in one general statement the very varied and often incongruous elements which make up the physical conditions or the economic and social life of the territories at the present time. In old countries, and the older parts of our own country, from the fact that the great body of the people is native and homogeneous, there are found certain well defined characteristics of social and business life. These make up that stable order of relations into which new comers are introduced and to which they soon adjust themselves, even though in doing so their influence may be apparent. In the territories, however, society is in process of formation—a most interesting process to observe. What the permanent characteristic features will be is at present somewhat uncertain. The constituent elements come from widely differing physical, social and business surroundings, and there mingle together with perhaps no dominant type to steady or give direction to the new formation. Some of the present, and perhaps permanent consequences of this condition I may attempt to present in a future article; here I wish to deal with some more general questions which affect the very foundations of the country's future, those, namely, relating to immigration and transportation.

First, with regard to the settlement of the country. Does it not seem strange that in spite of the abnormal efforts put forth by the Government and its immigration agents, not to mention the labours of the C.P.R., the colonization companies, and the Canadian school of patriots,—all setting forth the wonderful resources

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of the North-West territories,—these regions should yet fill up so slowly? The last census shows that all the territories together contain but little more than one-third the population of Toronto city.

After indulging for a time in immigration literature, listening to a few immigration orations, including the after-dinner efforts of the High Commissioner, and reading an article or two by Mr. Hopkins or Mr. Parkin for instance, the conviction is inevitable that the North-West territories, stand at the head of the timber, mineral, agricultural and grazing countries of the world, and are, in other qualities also, capable of satisfying the fondest dreams of any immigrant. Plain prose is scarcely adequate to express either the present condition or the future prospects of the country. A widely circulated government publication was issued first in 1884 and again in 1888 as a settler's guide to Alberta, the modest object of which, according to the compiler, is "to lay before the intending emigrant plain facts gleaned from practical and reliable sources." In this the poets are frequently called upon to supplement the prose efforts of the compiler, in order to give an adequate expression to the plain facts.

Thus Alberta's greatness is fitly introduced by these fine lines from Tennyson:—

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;
Saw the heavens fill with commerce argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales.'

And if any one should think that this is rather too lofty a perch to take in a guide to settlers, concerned with nothing but plain facts, let him look at the nature of the facts and he will see that the plainness of the fact need not exclude a certain regal quality quite worthy of such language. Thus "when we begin to consider the great and varied resources of this western country—its immense forests of magnificent timber, its inexhaustible coal fields, its mines of gold, silver, lead and iron, its agricultural productiveness, its great adaptability to the raising of horses, cattle and sheep—it does not need a strong imagination to group the gigantic nature of the commerce which, before many years, will be centred here."

We learn, too, from those writers and lecturers who undertake to make a comparison between our North-West and the

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North-Western States, that Providence has carefully and wisely located the choicest resources and advantages to the north of the forty-ninth parallel. A most favoured nation this! Even in the narrower range of Alberta "there seems to be every natural condition happily and purposely blended to make Alberta one day the richest province of the Dominion. Where else in Canada will one find such a lavish wealth of natural resources? Where such a climate—healthful, energizing, joyous beyond compare? Providence, the bountiful hand of nature could scarcely have done more for a country." Surely no one can deny that "a country with such advantages, should not remain long unsettled." Elsewhere a sort of warning is given to 'come early and avoid the jam,' for "those who are in at the start are those whose opportunities will be best to thrive with the country and share in the great wealth that nature has spread out and invited a world to come and participate in." Nor does the writer of this standard guide to the country confine himself to mere glittering generalities; he gives the prospective immigrant to understand that in this "veritable land of Goshen" he may obtain 120 bushels of oats and 60 bushels of wheat or barley per acre, and so many roots and vegetables that he candidly confesses himself afraid to give the figures lest the plainness of his facts should be questioned.

Here, then, is a land containing exactly those forms of wealth which are most eagerly desired, and for which men are continually searching the globe. Throughout Europe and the eastern parts of Canada and the United States,—as we are assured by many,—cruel and grasping monopolists have seized upon what few natural resources are there to be found, and are steadily refusing to allow tens of thousands of eager workers to have access to them. Here in Alberta, however, is open to all comers such an overwhelming amount of natural resource that "one is amazed at the tremendous possibilities" which it offers. Few may claim that they have not had this gospel presented to them, for, during the recent period of the great exodus from Europe and from the eastern parts of Canada and the United States, our government agents have spared neither prose nor verse nor any form of literature, save only that of fiction from which they claim to have abstained, in spreading abroad the good news. In this

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they have been ably assisted by the C. P. R. and other agencies. And yet the very classes who are most anxious for these riches and for this access to nature pay little heed to these generous offers of great opportunities, but pass on to what anyone having read up these facts must admit to be very inferior localities. One Minister of the Interior after another tackles this astonishing problem, and each one promises a more spirited immigration policy than the last, only to find that the more spirited the policy, the more poetic and tempting the offers, and the plainer the facts presented, the more slowly does the country develop. And all the while the grim Sir Richard is prodding up the Ministry, standing with the official prospectus of the North-West at the time of building the C. P. R. in one hand, and immigration returns, census reports and exodus calculations in the other, desiring information as to the location of those millions who were ere this to have occupied the great plains of the West.

But why pursue the question further along this line? There is evidently no hope of reaching a solution from the official side, but only certainty of getting deeper into confusion. Let us turn to the country itself and see what is to be learned on the ground.

In the first place we find that in some of the districts on which much poetry and praise have been lavished, there are deserted houses and fields once cultivated now returned to weeds. From some of these very places letters were written, by request of the compiler, which now appear in the guide to settlers, encouraging the intending immigrant with reports of progress which are most satisfactory. Further, when one begins to enquire of the most prosperous and practical ranchers about the statements contained in this immigrant literature, one is apt to be met with a very broad smile and to be given to understand that this sort of thing is intended for the weaker brethern. But, coming to the more serious side of the matter, it is held by many that nothing has done more to prevent the normal development of the territory than the circulation of that sort of literature. Several of those who have written letters for the Government or the C.P.R. are really prosperous settlers, but few of these are dependent on ranching or farming. In most of the publications the letters

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given are mainly from merchants and other middle men, real estate and other agents, government officials of various grades, including immigrant agents, money-lenders, local preachers and even occasional travellers. Now, of course, most of these persons are directly interested in simply getting people to come into their neighbourhood in order that they may make profits out of them in one form or another. There is one piece of really good advice which is pretty generally given by such persons and which is quite characteristic. They wish the world to understand that the territory is very abundantly supplied with persons of their special callings, while the kind of settlers required in unlimited numbers must be willing to make their living from nature, and not through their fellows, must be sober, industrious and hard-working, and, if possible, supplied with some reserve fund in cash. This is very excellent advice, but there is a sense in which such virtue is its own reward, for the advice is in perfect harmony with the interests of the writers.

There are others, however, having a say in the matter, whose immediate interests, at least, do not coincide with such advice. The immigrant agent, advocates of a spirited immigration policy and persons, of whatever political party, who estimate national greatness by the census lists, gladly welcome all comers. They believe thoroughly in the natural equality of all men, and, acting on this belief, despise no one as an immigrant who can be set down to their credit as an addition to the population. As a consequence many people are found in the territories who are wholly unfit for the life and work of a new country. Of the incapables there are two classes. There are those, in the first place, of whom little more need be said in this connection than that they are specimens of humanity. Some of these receive periodic remittances from Europe, chiefly from Britain, and some do not. In the second place, there are those of considerable education and refinement, and not without parts, but who have grown up in the highly specialized and organized economic life of the modern English city, and, when transferred to the prairie or foot-hills, are almost as helpless as a limb severed from the body. They know little of what it means to provide the greater part of their living for themselves, and still less of how to make a living out of ranching alone. They have come out expecting to

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do some work of course,—though not very much in so rich a country,—but mainly to enjoy the charm and freedom of nature, to ride horses, to indulge in field sports and, quite generally, to enjoy all those beautiful, poetic and aristocratic privileges promised them by the honey-tongued immigrant agent and the reliable settler's guide. Afterwards, when the failure which was inevitable has overtaken them, how bitterly they deplore their lot, and how they rail against the Government and its base deceivers. To meet with some such families in their prairie homes, is an interesting though saddening experience. There we are likely to find a combination of wretched surroundings, ill-furnished and poverty-stricken shacks, yet with here and there a remnant from the happier estate of the past, such as an odd piece or two of fine old English table ware in china or silver, a few draggling ghosts of garments that once in their original brightness had probably shone in far off social gatherings, or perhaps a room ornament or two, looking most incongruous amid their present surroundings. Still, in the midst of these unpromising circumstances one may find people of charming manners and most enjoyable conversation. One cannot but feel that it was a shame to have lured such people out into the wilderness to make shipwreck of their lives. But failures of many kinds are too common there to attract much attention or excite much pity. If, however, they begin to give vent to their hardships in print and to accuse the Government or the Railroad of deception, they are styled "chronic kickers," and attempts are made to smother them out. They are abused as thriftless and incapable; and most of them certainly are when set out on the prairie. Why, then, encourage such people to come to the country by giving such an exaggerated and misleading account of it as to cause them to suppose that it is very easy to make a living and even to grow rich there?

The fact is that the immigration literature circulated with regard to Alberta and other parts of the North-West, is grossly deceptive and, instead of being beneficial to the country, is proving its most serious drawback. The writers have protested over much and are not believed by the wise but only by the foolish. Although some parts of the country are really well supplied with natural resources, yet only a limited number can be made available during the early stages of the

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country's growth. There is a natural sequence in the development of a country's wealth, and, if the primary resources and advantages are defective, the existence of the secondary ones in great abundance is of little avail. But the immigrant agents and the immigration literature give their victims to understand that everything will be in full blast in a few years, and that no time is to be lost in getting into place in order to share in the vast riches which are about to be unfolded. On the one hand the advantages are greatly over-rated, on the other the disadvantages and hardships which are to be faced are almost ignored. Resources which exist only in limited quantities, or in limited sections, or are available only with great difficulty, are so described as to give the idea that they are freely available by nearly every settler in the country. Thus the idea is given that coal may be had for almost nothing, and so it may in many places, but as a rule little else that is desirable may be had just there, and so the settlers find that to make a living they must dwell ten, twenty, fifty or a hundred miles from available coal supplies. With roads to make, mining to pay for, and the coal to haul even short distances, it is commonly found to be worth more than it is in Ontario, and, except from regular mines, such as at Lethbridge or Banff, the quality is medium or under. In places within ten miles of open coal mines I have found coal selling for twice and even three times what it sells for in Ontario. But with all its coal resources, which are evidently quite extensive, the great majority of settlers in Alberta still use wood for burning and often draw it very long distances.

It is perhaps natural to speak solemnly of the vast power lying dormant in Alberta coal mines. But there is no more power lying unused in coal fields in the neighbourhood of the Alberta settlers, than is going to waste in water privileges in the neighbourhood of the Ontario settlers, and the one resource is likely to be made available for the settlers at about the same stage of development as the other. Again, in the case of wood and timber, a glowing statement is made with regard to the abundance of wood for building and other purposes, and then a list is given of the various woods which grow in the territory. But not one in ten is worth mentioning, except for its botanical interest, and the only good one for lumber is the Douglas fir which is confined to the

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mountains, chiefly on the British Columbia side whence the greater part of the lumber comes, and of course it is quite expensive. It is quite true also that much of the soil in Alberta, especially along the foot-hills, is of the finest quality. I certainly never saw better. But along with this important advantage, must be taken the special disadvantages which unfortunately accompany it, such as frost in the foot-hills and drouth on the plain, hail storms in summer and fire in harvest. The fire in dry seasons is a terrible scourge both in the mountains among the timber, and over the foot-hills and plains where it destroys crops and hay. The prairie grasses are rich in quality, but do not grow high and are thin on the soil, there being no continuous turf such as is produced here in the east and in Europe from root spreading grasses. The prairie grasses perpetuate themselves by seeding. When, therefore, the pasture is cut too closely, or eaten too bare, the grass begins to thin out and the weeds to take its place; hence the number of stock that can be permanently kept on a given area is very much less than in eastern Canada, the proportion being about one to ten. Sheep are still more destructive on the western pastures, and these animals, which were at first looked upon as certain to be a great source of wealth, are now excluded by law from the ranching districts of southern Alberta.

It is already evident that ranching alone will support a very limited population, and without irrigation it is now practically admitted that the southern half of Alberta and most of Assiniboia will be very uncertain farming districts. Alberta lends itself admirably to a system of irrigation in the neighbourhood of the larger rivers, and Government engineers are now at work on the surveys. The smaller streams are already used by ranchers in the upper foot-hills to water their hay fields, but in dry weather they never reach the plains. Assiniboia, however, is not adapted for irrigation and those who settle there must trust to Providence. As to whether even cheap irrigation will pay in Alberta, will depend more on cost of transportation for the products than on anything else. The mineral resources and their development afford no safe grounds for prediction; but, judging from the latest geological maps, the only promising region is on the British Columbia side of the mountains. However, the

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kind of immigrant who comes to work there must have plenty of capital and will probably not reach the country in the train of an immigrant agent or with a settler's guide in his hand. The swelling descriptions of the mineral resources are evidently intended for the edification of agricultural settlers, not for the instruction of miners and capitalists; but the former will do well to look to what may be produced, and what markets may be obtained for it, in the time which may elapse between their arrival in the territory and the development of a special local market through the working up of the mineral resources.

There seems to be a good farming district around Edmonton in the north, and for the present this has taken the place of southern Alberta as the El Dorado of the territories. Quite a number of settlers have been going in there for the past two or three years, some from Europe, some from the United States, and some from other parts of the territories whose weaknesses have been discovered, and whose reputations are gone. At present round Edmonton, as formerly round Calgary, the influx of new settlers gives a local market which more than absorbs all that the first comers can produce. Hence prices are high and the most glowing reports of prosperity are wafted back for the encouragement of others. But in-as-much-as this is a grain growing and not a ranching district,—there being too much snow for ranching —when production increases and the immigration boom is over, a distant market must be found for the grain. Now no market at present in sight, with existing freight rates and the low price of wheat, is capable of returning even the thriftiest farmer more than a bare living. The people in Edmonton who have an eye to the future recognize this and are already looking for salvation from a railroad to run from Edmonton through the Yellowhead pass, across British Columbia, over the strait to the upper end of Vancouver Island, and down to Victoria. Victoria's interest in the venture is to obtain revenge on Vancouver for being made the terminus of the C. P. R. Great confidence is expressed that this scheme will afford a solution of the difficulty which threatens. But even if the new road can afford to carry grain and other farm produce cheaper than the C. P. R. does now, and will do so if it can afford it, it remains to be seen whether prices will be much

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better on the Pacific coast, which at present sends surplus grain to Europe. However, the Edmonton people also look for great local markets through the development of mineral resources. The proportion in this scheme of the substance of things hoped for to the substance of things evident is dangerously large at present. But of course the West is above all things else the land of promise.

In any case, however, it takes no long acquaintance with western conditions to see that no second-rate class of immigrants will permanently succeed there. Main strength and awkwardness, or mere hard work, counts for much less, while foresight and judgement count for much more in the west than here in the east. But the class of persons most indispensable for the west is precisely the class which will not respond to present immigration methods. They will rather be repelled by them. The best settlers in the territories now have not gone there through the present immigration machinery. Some of them went there in the well selected detachments which constituted the first body of mounted police. Others came in from the States to the south, guided by their own enterprise ; others came from Ontario and the Eastern provinces in like manner, and still others from Britain. The latter in some cases were partially influenced by the government guides to the country, though they seem to have also made inquiries in other quarters. Quite a number, I found, had come out to the country to see it for themselves, intending to return if it did not suit them. The majority of the best arrivals of late have come through the letters and reports sent to them by friends. This is by far the most effective and satisfactory method of colonization, and is the one which has supplied the best immigrants and the most capital to the United States. The Canadian exodus is only one phase of this. The prosperous settler is the best immigant agent, and the unprosperous one is sure to give the country a bad name.

Since my return from Alberta I had the pleasure of listening to a lecture on the resources of the North-West by an immigrant agent of the C. P. R., who was about to depart on a regular winter tour of immigration work in the United States. I listened with considerable interest to his descriptions of the very sections from which I had just returned. There was not very much in the lecture that one could say was positively untrue, but there

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was just about as little that one could say was positively true. It might be true enough, for instance, to say that there is a great deal of soil in Alaska which is admirably adapted for the growing of oranges; but if that statement is made in connection with a lecture describing Alaska as a desirable field for settlers, the idea conveyed is absolutely false. The lecture in question was quite a study in effects produced by a little well-placed exaggeration, the effective use of half truths, and the prominence given to advantages when the modifying disadvantages are carefully ignored. Add to this a lofty moral and patriotic tone and the general impression produced was of a very misleading character. I was strongly tempted to give the gentleman my opinion of his lecture then and there.

Now when the agent of a railroad from Canada goes into any of the States, where population is not overcrowded, and where there is a settled form of society and industry, with all the permanent relations of property and other ties which that involves, one can understand fairly well what element in the population is likely to be influenced by the marvellous tales of wealth and plenty to be had by picking up and following him. The industrious, shrewd, thrifty, enterprising and self-reliant are not likely to be caught by any such chaff, nor to be ready to move at a few months notice. But the thriftless, unstable, mortgage-eaten and poverty-stricken elements, willing enough to have prosperity thrust upon them but without capacity to achieve it for themselves, listen to the tale with that perennial freshness of interest characteristic of the class. Having few anchors to lift they are soon organized and on the road. The type is well known in some parts of the territories, and many specimens are not at all uninteresting to meet and chat with, or watch as they journey along with their gipsy-looking outfits seeking a location. But when one regards them as the material with which to lay the foundations of a nation, the outlook is not at all promising.

In addition to the present immigration policy being dishonest and injurious to the country in the long run it is lowering to the dignity of the Government of a self-respecting people to go a-begging for citizens in any other country, and organizing agencies for national proselytism. If our country can afford good homes for settlers, it will be sufficient to state plainly, adequately and honestly

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its true condition, its advantages and disadvantages, so that the inquiring immigrant may know what is to be had, and what must be done to get it, and whether, therefore, it is likely to answer his needs and capacities. Settlers coming in under these conditions will respect the Government, will work heartily and will be the most legitimate, efficient and reliable immigrant agents.

There is still one all-important consideration with reference to the settlement of the North-West, which requires notice, and that is the means and cost of transportation. It matters not now-a-days how rich the resources of a country may be, if the cost of taking the products to market and of obtaining the other necessaries and comforts of life, as well as the means of carrying on the production, in return, does not leave a normal profit or remuneration for one's labour or ability, that country will not be freely or rapidly settled nor its resoures developed. Now at the present time the freight rates for the North-West settlers are so high, and the prices for grain, horses, vegetables and other products so low that the settlers in many districts cannot do more than make the barest living. This of course quite stops intelligent immigration to localities which would otherwise support a large and flourishing community. The abnormal nature of the freight rates in the western territories will be indicated from the following statement better than by rows of figures. Mr. David A. Wells, in his *Recent Economic Changes*, has calculated from the statistics furnished by Poor's "Manual," that all the wealth earned by the people of the United States in one year would not pay the cost of transportation for a year, had it to be performed by horse-power alone. And yet, in Alberta at least, so high are the freight rates on the C. P. R., that the old system of freighting with horses and wagons has revived in direct competition with the railroad, and is reported to be a profitable enterprise. At the same time the C. P. R. is the great competitor of the American trans-continental railroads in carrying English and American goods. In passenger rates it is much the same. American, English and Eastern Canadian tourists are carried at very reasonable rates in the most elegant cars, and are given unlimited stop-over privileges, while the settlers in their local travel, are charged five cents per mile, whatever the distance, for a very common service, and are given no reduction on return tickets.

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Thus the settlers in their own land are treated as aliens, by the railroad which has been so heavily subsidized by the people of Canada, and for which they are burdened to-day, in the supposed interests of the North-West, but which turns out to be in the special interest of the foreigner. But, according to Sir Wm. Van Horne, the C. P. R. cannot afford to serve the territories at cheaper rates and make profits; and indeed if it did not secure as much as possible of the American and English traffic at whatever rates are going, it would not be able to serve the territories as cheaply as it does. Now that may be largely true. But, if it is, the greater part of the North-West is doomed to remain uninhabited for an indefinite period. What Sir William's statement means to the settler is simply this: If you come to the Northwest or remain in it, your produce must be subject to something like horse-power freight rates, so also your goods imported. If, however, you will go and settle in the Western States, the C. P. R. will carry out your produce and carry in your goods at cut-rate prices which will cause the American Pacific Railroads to serve you at the same rates, even though they pass into the hands of receivers or pay no dividends.

Now the liberality of the people of Canada has enabled the C. P. R. to do this, and their liberality may be used to any extent, through the Department of the Interior, to divert or attract immigration to the North West, but it will not stay there, unless it is too ignorant or poverty-stricken to get out again. Sir Richard Cartwright will never lack for exodus figures, nor Mr. Wilfred Laurier for eager listeners among the few settlers who remain, or are in transit, in the territories, when he tells them they might be better off.

If Sir Wm. Van Horne had any real confidence in the future of the North West, he is too shrewd a Yankee not to see that his present policy is a penny-wise and pound-foolish one, in trying to extract paying rates from settlements in their infancy, thus preventing their development. If, however, he sees that the future of the North West is very uncertain, or very future, his present policy is quite rational from a purely selfish point of view. His dependence must be mainly on non-Canadian trade in freight and passengers, and having the settlers of the North-

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West at his mercy, he may tax them all the traffic will bear, which means up to horse-power competition. At the same time it will be his policy to lure as many immigrants as possible into the territories and to get the Government to assist him, not being too particular as to inducements provided they induce.

Learning these things I have ceased to wonder why the North-West does not fill up more rapidly.

A. SHORTT.

ON UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

But speaking broadly, we may say that the formative process of thought is arrested as soon as a candidate sits down to an examination on literature, or even studies with a view to it. Second-hand generalisations and stereotyped judgments are put on paper. . . . . The popular conception of a teacher's office is, some one has said, to help a candidate to play with a straight bat the most artful twisters of an examiner; and there is no doubt that the dominance of the examination system has tended to create a wrong conception of the teacher even in Universities whose function is recognized to be other than that of an examining Board. An Oxford under-graduate, a Scholar of his College, was about to go in for his final examination. He went to his tutor to talk over with him a difficult metaphysical problem. The tutor discussed it on various sides, but produced no definite solution. The pupil at last told him plainly that this was not what he wanted. "What I want is the examination answer to the question; give it me in a precise form." "I really can't," was the reply; "it is a point on which nobody can speak dogmatically. Honestly, I don't know." "Come now, Mr. ——," said the other, "but you are *paid* to know." Yes, paid to know, and to put our knowledge in cheap and handy form for ready use and distribution,—that is the theory of those who regard University teaching as a commercial industry, and a University Degree as a "hall-mark" which ought to be easily purchased with the minimum expenditure of intellectual effort.

PROF. BUTCHER. *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius.*

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PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT IN CANADA.

THE problems of government in Canada are those incident to political institutions essentially democratic in character. A Canadian does not need to be a very old man in order to remember the time when it was generally supposed that the copy we had made in this country of British institutions was an effectual safeguard against the evils of democracy. We looked across the border; and, according as our thoughts reverted more naturally to Scripture or to the classic poets, we would either thank God that we were not as those republicans or murmur after Lucretius,

> "Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis
> E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem."

This mood of self-gratulation has not wholly passed away even yet; but later political speculation, confirmed by not a little practical experience, has taught us that the essentials of democracy may lurk under forms of government professedly non-democratic, and may even work more wide-spread mischief owing to their not being recognized in their true character. The readers of Sir Henry Maine's well known work on "Popular Government" will remember that, in one most important respect, he finds the English system of government more democratic than that of the United States. In the latter country most elaborate precautions have been taken against any sudden or ill-advised change in the law of the constitution; whereas in England a constitutional change requires no more formality, no more discussion, no more delay than the passing of any ordinary act of Parliament.

What is the essential principle of democracy? Professor Sidgwick, of Cambridge, discussing this question, says that the fundamental principle of democracy is that government should repose on the active consent of the governed; and this principle he says he accepts. He adds, however, that the advocates of democracy generally put forward explicitly or implicitly another principle which he does not accept, namely, "that any one self-supporting and law-abiding citizen is, on the average, as well

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qualified as another for the work of government." It seems to me that there is yet another principle widely held in democratic communities, which constitutes a still more serious corruption of that true democratic principle which Professor Sidgwick accepts; and that is, that the powers of the government should be locally exercised by representatives of the dominant party in the interest of that party.

If it be a part of democratic doctrine that the will of the majority should be able to find swift expression in legislation, then few countries are, in this respect, so little democratic as the United States, while few, if any, are more democratic than Great Britain and her colonies. It would probably be held, however, by thoughtful believers in democracy that the true democratic principle is not infringed by mere checks upon hasty legislation, so long as those checks have the approval of the people at large, and so long as there is no exercise of veto power by a non-popular or anti-popular chamber. The representative of democracy might say: "We know we are but human, and therefore liable to error; and we do not object to having the legislative projects we put forward from time to time referred back to us for further consideration, provided the powers that do this are constitutional powers, and are themselves popular in their origin. What we could not stand would be to have an individual or a chamber representative, not of the nation, but only of a limited class within the nation, sitting in judgment on the mandates of the people." If we look at the matter closely, the essential idea of democracy will be found to involve no more than the fundamental principle which Professor Sidgwick says he accepts, "that government should rest on the active consent of the citizens." A system of government embodying and consistently applying this principle, free from contamination by such illegitimate adjunct principles as are mentioned above, may, in a useful sense, be described as "pure" democracy; while one which drags in the latter, and gives them equal authority with the true principle on which they are foisted as corollaries, may be designated as "impure" democracy.

The most advanced ideal of government, if we adopt these definitions, is therefore "pure" democracy; but the ideal does not exist in concrete shape: what we find actually existing is "impure" democracy. Probably the government of Great Bri-

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tain makes as near an approach to pure democracy, in the sense defined, as is now to be seen in the world; that is to say, it is the system of government in which the fewest false accretions attach themselves to the true principle, "that government should rest on the active consent of the citizens." It is evident that, in some states of society, government cannot rest on the active consent of the citizens; it *must* assume a tyrannical or, under improved conditions, a monarchical form, owing to the fact that the mass of the citizens would not otherwise be disposed to submit to any political control. Monarchy, therefore, in so far as it implies the control by one of an unwilling many, has its proper place in communities that have not yet developed a sufficient amount of internal cohesion to fit them for free institutions in the full sense. Of course, as in England, the form of monarchy may be retained, long after its coercive function has ceased. It then becomes a kind of historic adornment to an essentially democratic state, and by keeping the people in touch with their past may serve a very useful purpose. It may, and in all probability does, serve the further purpose of symbolising in an efficient manner the unity of the state, and bringing home to the mind of jarring factions the conviction that there are paramount and permanent national interests which in their restless strife they must be careful not to touch. The maxim that the King can do no wrong is but another way of saying, that while individual men may err, and parties adopt wrong politics, the State as a permanent organization has no responsibility for such divagations, but remains the unfailing source of good to its subjects, the true creator of their liberties and protector of their civilization.

If we consider the position of Canada, we shall find that it has many points of natural and, so to speak, historical advantage. To be closely bound by political and social ties to a country enjoying so high a type of political liberty as England is no small advantage in itself. To England we look, or at least may look and should look, for our examples of statesmanship. The ideals that rule English public life ought to be, and to some extent doubtless are, influential here. It is to English public opinion—the most honest that exists in the world—that we are most interested in commending ourselves and our methods. The relations existing between Canada and the Mother Country are honorable

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to both. The writer of these pages has met intelligent and fairly educated Americans, who were surprised to learn that Canada did not pay taxes to England, and who had some difficulty in understanding what the relations between the two countries could be, if Canada was not, in some way, made tributary to England's wealth and greatness. It is to our advantage, again, that we have adopted the strong English system of cabinet government, instead of the weaker system, existing amongst our neighbors, of government by committees of the legislature.

To turn to another class of considerations, our population, as compared with that of the United States, is more homogeneous in character. Such foreign elements as we possess exist in assimilable quantity, and are not inaccessible to the ordinary currents of public opinion. The French-Canadian question does not, after all is said and done, present any serious hindrances to our political development. Our fellow-citizens of French origin know they have to live with us, and we know that we have to live with them ; and all that is wanted to make things run smoothly is a spirit of equity and, if possible, of common patriotism on both sides. It might indeed be plausibly argued that the present division of our population into two widely-differing elements, one certainly predominant in numbers and influence, but the other large enough and important enough to be able to stand firmly on its rights, is favorable to the development of political intelligence, and especially of that spirit of moderation which is the chief safeguard of political institutions and of national life.

The character of our climate may fairly be reckoned a further point in our favor. It is a climate which tends to produce a hardy, industrious, energetic and resourceful race. The Canadian summer is genial and bounteous ; the Canadian winter is bracing and not to be trifled with. A more salubrious climate, on the whole, is probably nowhere to be found, nor a healthier or more vigorous race. These facts are not without their political significance; for, if we want the best political results, we should have the best natural conditions and the best human material to begin with. Without flattering ourselves unduly, we may say that in both respects we have as good as the best.

Assuming the foregoing facts as data, we may proceed to enquire what the actual direction of our political development has

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been and is, and what are the immediate prospects before us. If we go back sixty or even fifty years in the history of Canada, we shall find its government still, to a large extent, in the aristocratic stage. Sixty years ago, what is now known as "responsible government" had not yet been conceded. There was a system of popular representation; yet in many ways the people were governed in the old-fashioned sense by administrators who assumed to know what was good for them better than they did themselves. The situation is well described in Sir Francis Bond Head's "Narrative," which shows in a very instructive manner how popular personal government may be when characterized by fearlessness and disinterestedness. The forces of democracy, however, were advancing like a rising tide; and in what seemed the very hour of his triumph the unbending champion of conservatism was obliged to make way for a more pliant successor. The full establishment of responsible government did not at once dispel the idea that, in the matter of appointments to the public service, a Governor might act upon his own convictions of what was best without consulting his Ministers. The last Governor to maintain this position was Sir Charles Metcalfe. What he plainly saw was that the reason his Ministers wanted to be consulted was in order that they might use the "patronage" to strengthen their political position; and to his straightforward mind it seemed an abuse that appointments should be used for such a purpose. To be sure, he was imposing severer conditions on his Ministers in Canada than had, for many a long year, been imposed upon Ministers in the Mother Country; but he doubtless perceived that the political exercise of patronage in a country like Canada was very much more serious in its effect on the balance of parties than in a country like England. Be this as it may, the position was practically untenable, and we do not hear of its having been taken up by any of his successors.

But how the spirit of democracy has ripened since that time! Not the spirit of pure democracy, but of impure democracy—the spirit which says that one man is about as good as another for a legislative or administrative position, that every smallest exercise of executive power is to be availed of for party purposes, that the expenditure of public money is as much as possible to have a similar destination, and that throughout the country the repre-

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sentatives of the dominant party are to be converted into little present deities for the purveying of government favour to their several localities. Can it be denied by any serious man, be he conservative or liberal, that this is the spirit that rules to-day? If any man does deny it, it can only be because he is not in touch with public affairs, and does not know the facts.

The idea that one man is about as good as another for any legislative or administrative position antedates, it must be admitted, the great democratic development of modern days. Monarchies have on the whole done more to shelter incompetency in office, and even on the field of battle, to the deadly peril of the national interests, than democracies. Monarchies, too, have systematically created sinecures to an extent that democracies have not ventured on doing. When we think of the Grand Monarque and his beggarly courtiers rioting on the taxes of a starving nation, we feel that a day of vengeance had to come; and when we think of the useless pensions which formerly loaded down the Civil List in England, we have reason to congratulate the Mother Land on the good fortune which enabled her to avoid a revolution once or twice impending. Speaking of the reign of William the Third, Hallam says: "A system of infamous peculation among the officers of government came to light in this reign through the inquisitive spirit of Parliament; not that the nation was worse and more corrupt than under the Stuarts, but that a profligacy, which had been engendered and flourished under their administration was now dragged to light and punishment. Long sessions of Parliament and a vigilant party spirit exposed the evil, and have finally in a great measure removed it." As lately as the beginning of the reign of the present sovereign considerable resistance was made to a proposal for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the pension list; and, when finally the committee was granted, the member of Parliament, Mr. Harvey, who had been foremost in urging its appointment, was excluded from it, because he had announced his intention to make public the evidence obtained.

There is a difference to be noted, however, between the view taken of these things under a monarchical and under a democratic regime respectively. Under a monarchy, the money taken to reward favorites or pay party tools is more or less recognized as

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stolen, and efforts are made to conceal the iniquity. Under a democracy the idea is that it is the people's money voted by the representatives of the people, and spent by the men whom those representatives keep in power. Ergo, there can be no stealing about it; and a sufficient answer to any criticism as to the way in which it is spent is that the people are willing to have it so. The late Sir John Macdonald is credited with having said that, if the people were bribed, it was with their own money; as if that settled the whole question, and completely established the innocence, if not the excellence, of the practice. The hollowness of the sophism is, however, visible at a glance. It is never *the people* that are bribed: it is *sections* of the people, who, if they conduct themselves well politically, get an undue share of the money of the *whole people*. You can never bribe a man with what is absolutely his own money; not even the genius of the late chieftain would have been equal to that. Under the system in question men can be appointed to important offices who have no qualification for them, and no intention whatever to fulfil, or attempt to fulfil, the duties supposed to appertain to them. To all intents and purposes they are appointed to sinecures, and the duties which they are nominally paid for performing are discharged by subordinates. The real purpose which such men serve is either to exercise a watchful care over party interests in their localities, or to furnish shining examples of what a party in power can do for those who render, or have rendered, it service. These are the prize-winners in the great lottery of politics, and their success is expected to have a powerful influence in disposing others to take their chances on the same side.

Sometime the prize-winner is not, taking everything into account, so great a prize-winner as appears at first sight. He may have impoverished himself through politics, and an office is given to reward him for his "sacrifices" for the party. Would it not be much better, however—seeing the people approve of such things—to take a parliamentary vote to reward Mr. So and So for his sacrifices for such and such a party, instead of putting him into an office the duties of which he will never fulfil and where he more or less interferes with the full authority and responsibility of the real executive officer? It would certainly cost the country much less in the end; and possibly, by making the people

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more distinctly realise that party battles were being fought with public money, would evoke a condemnation of the principle. "There is no act," says John Stuart Mill, "which more imperatively requires to be performed under a strong sense of individual responsibility than the nomination to employments. The experience of every person conversant with public affairs bears out the assertion that there is scarcely any act respecting which the conscience of the average man is less sensitive." If the conscience of the average man is so lacking in sensitiveness what shall be said of the conscience of the "local committee"? But imagine talking about the conscience of a local committee! Were ever terms more mutually contradictory, more utterly exclusive of one another, ever brought into conjunction? Yet it is the local committee that generally has the decisive word in any question of local patronage.

There was a great political convention held in the capital of the Dominion about a year and a half ago, in which a number of important questions were discussed, and a party platform was constructed. The time was eminently seasonable, one would have thought, for the declaration of sound principles in regard to appointments to public office and the general exercise of ministerial responsibility in the expenditure of public money, because the convention followed upon the lamentable exposures of the sessions of 1891 and 1892—exposures which had led the government of the day to promise a thorough investigation and, as far as might be necessary, reorganization of the Dominion civil service. Yet, strange to say, the convention in question, though deploring in general terms "the gross corruption in the management and expenditure of public moneys which has for years past existed under the rule of the Conservative party," had no distinct word to say on the subject of the abuse of patronage or the necessity for a divorce between the public service and party politics. This silence was the more remarkable inasmuch as certain independent journals had called attention to this question, as one in regard to which the convention should certainly not lose the opportunity of placing itself on record.

England for many years past has had an entirely non-political civil service. The permanent civil service cannot to-day be used by any minister for the purpose of augmenting in the very

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smallest degree his political influence. First appointments are given strictly and solely to those persons who are certified by the Civil Service Commissioners as having gained the highest stand in an open competitive examination. As regards promotion, that is governed by seniority, other things being equal or nearly so; but when other things are not equal merit determines the choice. Were any Member of Parliament to attempt to interfere in a question of promotion, his intrusion would be resented as a gross impertinence. In the United States, a steady advance is being made towards a similar system. Some years ago (1883) a large part of the Civil Service was placed under the control of a Commission, and from time to time other portions of it have been placed on the same footing. Quite lately, as the New York "Nation" of November the 8th informs us, President Cleveland "has made a wholesale extension of the competitive system," and has thus brought within its operation "all the minor offices in the departments now omitted, all of the employees in Custom-houses where they number as many as twenty, 1,500 of the 2,300 places now excepted in the postal service," and has put a stop to a flagrant abuse which before existed, by which a person appointed, as a matter of patronage, to an "excepted" place could be transferred to one not excepted, so as to create another vacancy in the former place.

What are we going to do about it in Canada? There is our democratic neighbor dealing blow after blow at the spoils system, and across the ocean we see the Mother Country rejoicing in a public service absolutely free from all taint of political interference, while we content ourselves with a Civil Service law which simply prescribes a very elementary qualifying examination, as a condition of eligibility, and then hands over all appointments to the politicians and their committees. Worse than that, we do not even rigorously exclude political influence from the higher walks of the service, when promotions are in question. To their honour be it spoken, many Members of Parliament are too high-minded and honorable to wish to force their favorites over the heads of other men; but that such abstinence is not general may be judged from the fact that experienced officers may be heard declaring that the only escape from a political interference, which would throw everything into confusion, is to follow absolutely the rule of seniority, even when it involves promoting a decidedly in-

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ferior man to a position the duties properly belonging to which he will never be able in any adequate manner to fulfil. Personally I do not accept this position; on the contrary it seems to me that, for reasons which could be stated, had I space at my disposal, the distinct recognition of superior merit as a ground for promotion, would, even as things are, help to ward off, rather than invite, political interference. The question, however, is: How long is Canada going to remain democratic in this unworthy sense? How long will it be before the people of this country arrive at the common sense conclusion that, if they want efficient service in return for their very liberal outlay upon the civil list, they must see to it that the civil service is not allowed to be a preserve for party politicians.

It is not appointments only that furnish grist to the political mill. The most minute expenditure of public money must be conducted into the right political channel or there will be trouble. "Idem sentire de republica," or, in plainer English, to vote the right ticket, is a test that is imposed no less on the glazier who replaces a broken pane, and the grocer who provides a bar of soap for a public office, than on the recipients of more important favors. How much of envy and jealousy is bred throughout the country by the sharp line of distinction thus drawn between those who may, and those who may not, look for government patronage, is not only easy to imagine, but is probably familiarly known to most readers of these pages. A still worse result is the connection established in so many minds between the exercise of the franchise and personal profit. The life of the average Member of Parliament is certainly not in all respects a happy one. He is, if he belongs to the party in power, the channel of government favors to his locality; and this may be flattering to his pride and self-importance; but, on the other hand, he is never able to meet half the demands made upon him, and thus stands in jeopardy every hour of losing the votes of the patriots whom he fails to satisfy. Another and very grave aspect of the matter is that departmental action is seriously weakened, as well as obstructed, through the necessity, now generally recognized, of consulting the wishes and interests of local politicians. The powers of the executive are supposed to be wielded for the benefit of the whole country; yet how is it possible under our present system that

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they should not be made to a great extent partisan in their operation? A member of the popular branch of the Dominion Legislature was, not so long ago, heard expounding his view of the theory of government. "If," said he, "I had a son who cheeked me, do you think I would go out of my way to do anything for him? Not much. Well, what claim can an Opposition constituency have upon the government for public buildings or anything else the government has it in its power to bestow?" This gentleman spoke with the air of one uttering a truth everlasting enough for Thomas Carlyle himself. He evidently felt that he had got down to the bed-rock of political philosophy. But if such is the state of mind of a man of position and influence, what is likely to be that of the average elector?

"But is not the credit of Canada good?" it may be asked. Yes, the credit of Canada is good; and that shows that we have among our public men, some who are laboring to keep in check tendencies, which, if unchecked, would ruin the financial standing of the country and seriously imperil its political future. That much firmness and skill and watchfulness must be exercised by certain members of the executive in the public interest cannot be doubted; otherwise, things would be worse than they are. But why struggle with a defective system when a little resolution might put an end to it? Why allow ourselves to be outstripped in controlling the abuses of patronage by the democratic nation to the south? If we admire England and are proud of our connection with it, why not import English ideas of Civil Service organization, so far as they are applicable to this country? Are Canadians so morally inferior a race that they cannot do without a "spoils system,"—that their whole interest in politics would die out if considerations of gain did not stimulate them to political activity? It would certainly be painful to any true patriot to have to adopt that conclusion. The American revolutionary statesman, Alexander Hamilton, is said to have expressed the opinion that when corruption ceased in England, the British constitution would fall to pieces. Possibly, the gentleman who likened an opposition constituency to a cheeky son might entertain similar apprehensions as to the result of the disappearance of corruption in Canada; but as corruption has practically been brought to an end in England, and as the British Constitution survives, the rest of

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us may be allowed to cherish better hopes. What is wanted in Canada is a change in public opinion. Nothing has been more discouraging hitherto than the lack of interest on the part of the average citizen in any suggestions for the purification of our politics; but, judging by the increase in the number and influence of the independent journals, and the somewhat higher tone of political discussion, as compared with, say, twenty years ago, in the more important party journals, there is some reason to hope that the times are ripening for an onward and upward movement in our political life. That movement must find a voice, it must find a leader. Who among the statesmen of the day has confidence enough in himself and faith enough in the people of Canada to place himself at its head? Or must a new man arise before the new time can be born?

W. D. LE SUEUR.

FROM LANDER.

Will mortals never know each other's station
Without the herald? O abomination!
Milton, even Milton, rankt with living men!
Over the highest Alps of mind he marches,
And far below him spring the baseless arches
Of Iris, colouring dimly lake and fen.

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MODERN LYRIC POETRY IN GERMANY.

"GERMAN Lyric Poetry since the Death of Goethe," is the title of a volume of poems lately published in Leipzic, under the supervision of Maximilian Bern. The lyrical poetry of this period, which spreads over a space of sixty years, should be sufficiently represented by the 234 poets whose names appear within the covers of this Deutsche Lyrik. The number of contributors might seem somewhat excessive, even when judged by the comprehensive rule which the editor has laid down for his own guidance. "Many authors whom I might have passed over, have found a place in this volume, because I have discovered in one or other of their poems, the faithful expression of some characteristic thought of our times which would otherwise have been lacking to this collection." But the system of selection has one marked advantage to the foreign student of German literature, for he is thus enabled to take a pretty complete survey of the lyric poetry of modern Germany. "No critic," says the editor, "will ever bring forward against me the reproach that in my book the strong have thrust out the weak, as too often happens in life in the struggle for existence." A generous principle of selection, truly, but we shall not quarrel with it, since it affords so good an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the poems of authors which might have been omitted from an anthology of a more exclusive character. The ground has been partly covered already by Dr. Buchheim, in his delightful "Deutsche Lyrik," now familiar to most English students, but as this collection illustrates the whole development of German Lyric poetry from the days of Luther to the present time, the space devoted to the poets of our own time is necessarily limited, and includes only the best examples. For a further acquaintance with this portion of German literature, the present volume is, as we have seen, admirably adapted.

The present century has witnessed a rapid development in the lyric poetry of Germany, the source of which, as of many other branches of literature, may be traced back to Goethe. It is not proposed in this paper to give a full account of the history of

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German lyrical poetry, but to glance at the work of those poets who have contributed most to its growth and present development.

The very name of lyrical poetry carries us back at once to Goethe as the representative lyric poet of modern Germany. Until his day, if we except the songs of the Minnesingers, the wandering lyric poets of the 12th and 13th centuries, we can scarcely allow that Germany possessed any lyric poetry of so decided a stamp, that it can be criticized as a whole. Some really fine lyrics were produced at every period during the last three hundred years in Germany, but they were hardly sufficiently numerous or important to be ranked as a class apart. The main part of German poetry, with the exception of the ballad, was made up of the Volkslied and Kirchlied. The latter of these, which may be said to have been grafted on the former, during the religious movement of the Reformation, retained much of the simplicity and directness of the Volkslied. Poems of nature and of life in the modern sense of the term there were none. The fleeting poetical enthusiasm which found vent in patriotic songs during the Thirty Years' War, soon died away and was succeeded by a period of comparative silence and depression which continued through the greater part of the 18th century, and such poetry as was put forth was generally characterized by the coldness and conventionality which marked our own poets of that period.

With Goethe commences a new era in the history of lyrical poetry. The efforts of the Gottinger Hainbund, which included among its members such names as Klopstock, Burger, Claudius and others, though extending considerably the range of poetic subjects were too much marked with affectation and unreality to effect a radical change.

In Goethe all the necessary conditions of success for the production of lyric poetry were fulfilled. He had emancipated himself completely from the fetters of the classical and sentimental school, and his poems are characterized by a freedom and spontaneity hitherto unknown, coupled with unbounded facility of expression. In him, the modern spirit which seeks to interpret the world of Nature and life first truly finds expression. The unusually long period of Goethe's literary activity contributed greatly to the permanent effect of his influence. For upwards of sixty

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years he was writing and publishing, a literary record which few men have possessed. In many respects his share in the poetical movement was identical with that of Wordsworth, in the similar change which took place in England at the beginning of this century. But though Goethe led the way, he was not alone in the new path. The time of his fullest power was singularly rich in lyric poets. Among these the name of Schiller is naturally one of the first to occur to the mind in connection with the development of German lyric poetry. And yet it is not in this branch of literature that Schiller's influence was most felt in Germany. He was one of the first to greet Goethe as the master and leader of the new school,

> "Du selbst, der uns von falschem Regelzwange
> Zur Wahrheit und Natur zuruckgefuhrt,"

Still, Schiller did not exactly follow Goethe's lead. Beautiful as many of his lyric poems are, they miss the spontaneity and freedom of Goethe's verse. He was not so completely freed as the latter from the classic school, which had till then reigned supreme, and the metaphysical tone of his mind pervades much of his poetry, and detracts from the simplicity which is one of the distinguishing marks of the purely lyric poem. But Schiller has his own special note, and one of great beauty and sweetness. It is clearly perceptible in "Die Ideale," "Hoffnung," "Die Worte des Glaubens," and many other poems, a constant striving after all that is highest, and a steadfast faith in the ultimate realization of his lofty ideals. It is a different strain from Goethe's, perhaps in some sense a nobler one. Four other famous poets of this period must be mentioned. Their names are Korner, Muller, Uhland and Ruckert. Of these the first two died young. They are best known, Korner by his patriotic poems, Muller by his exquisite *Fruhlingslieder* and *Reisenbilder*. Both Uhland and Ruckert lived well on into the second half of the present century, and thus form a connecting link between Goethe and the lyric poets of our own time. Much of Uhland's poetry has been excellently translated and is familiar to English readers. As with that of Muller, his poetry is overflowing with an intense love of Nature which he has embodied in a beautiful series of Spring Songs. The passionate and sympathetic appreciation of Nature which

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was first developed in Goethe, and which is in general very marked in German poetry, finds full expression in these two poets. It almost seems as if they had left nothing unsaid of the beauties of Spring and Spring Life.

Ruckert's poetry, which is largely represented in the present volume, is not nearly so well known out of Germany as it deserves to be. Many of his finest lyrics were not published till after his death in 1872, and he may consequently be properly ranked among the modern poets. A great Oriental scholar, he was for many years professor of Eastern languages at Erlangeu University, and much of his poetry shows the influence of his Oriental studies. He introduced many new forms of verse from this source, particularly the Persian ghazel, which has since been frequently employed by Platen, Geibel, and others with success. But his truest and tenderest poems are those called forth by some event which wrought on the sensitive and affectionate nature of the poet, as in the series of sonnets called the "Agnes Todten Feier," which were written in memory of Agnes Muller, a young girl to whom Ruckert was much attached, and who died suddenly during his absence from home. These poems were written at the age of twenty-four, and are described by a contemporary, as "perhaps the most tender of all his poems." The passionate affection displayed in them appears again in the beautiful "Songs on the Death of Children," which were written in the winter of 1833 and 1834. In that year the poet lost two children, a little son and daughter, from scarlet fever, a sorrow from which his loving and tender nature never recovered. These poems were found among his papers after his death, and have since been published. Apart from the beauty of their poetic form, there is something extremely genuine and spontaneous about all this series. Much of the simplicity and unrestrained feeling of the original is lost in translation, but the following sonnet may serve as a specimen :

In summer 'twas my comfort with fair flowers
To deck the grave where ye were laid, my own.
Once more ye seemed to bloom for me alone
As the buds opened under sun and showers.
But now a wintry sky above me lowers,
The flowers of spring are frozen all and gone ;

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The tender dreams which solaced me have flown,
And verse alone can soothe my lonely hours.
The children of my joy and of my weeping,
They are not buried in the cold dark earth;
Deep in my heart I hold them in safe keeping,
And songs of peace, roses of fairer birth
Brighten my grief with rays of heavenly worth.
For lilies these I lay where they are sleeping.

Ruckert's muse was vigorous to the last. In 1863 he wrote by request twelve patriotic songs during the war in Schleswig-Holstein, full of fire and national feeling. Although, as in "Travelling Companions" which is given below, much of Ruckert's poetry is tinged with sadness, there is no trace of the morbid melancholy common to much of the poetry of the period. His nature was essentially genial and kindly, and he felt most keenly the breaks which Time inevitably made among his friends.

Where the dark ways of Fate
  Oft cross and blend,
Where each in his own path
  Seeks his own end.

Hope not that he who now
  Walks by thy side
Will linger should his path
  From thine divide.

At times more closely drawn
  Heart touches heart,
A little space—and then
  Again must part.

Though now beside thee, one
  Thy path may share,
Dream not, the journey's end
  Will find him there.

The parting hour will come,
  The paths divide
Ere evening shadows veil
  The mountain side.

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The second poet whose influence is most distinctly felt in modern German poetry is undoubtedly Heinrich Heine. He possesses more than any other modern poet of Goethe's spirit, and is also the originator of those short epigrammatic poems, since become so popular, in which the application of poetical ideas to modern life is the main feature. Generally very short, his lyrics have a special and indescribable charm of their own. The poet's fancy is a law to itself both in words and rhythm, but both rhythm and words are in exquisite harmony with each other, and his poetry is full of delightful surprises which heighten its charm. Subjective as Heine's poems are, his quick sympathy and profound knowledge of human nature render them the expression of universal rather than individual thought. Few poets have had more imitators. It is impossible to take up a volume of German poetry without speedily coming upon something that recalls Heine's peculiar style, and yet few poets are more difficult of imitation. The rapid transition from irony to pathos, from humour to melancholy, are too often found without the magic charm that blends them into harmony in Heine's verse, and the effect is often abrupt and disjointed. There is an individual flavour about his poetry which is specially his own, a charm so elusive and intangible that it is almost impossible to overtake it. For this reason it is particularly difficult to translate into a foreign language. It seems to defy all ordinary rules of translation, and to those who know the poem in the original, it is doubtful if any rendering can fairly represent it. It is difficult to choose a specimen where each poem differs so much from its neighbour, but the three given below may serve as examples of Heine's lyrics, when due allowance has been made for what was left behind with their native dress.

"On a rock in the cold bleak Northland
A pine tree stands alone,
He sleeps—and the ice and snow-flakes
O'er his branches their pall have thrown.

But dreams float through his frozen slumbers,
Of a distant southern land,
Where silent and lone—a palm tree
Lifts her crest 'mid the burning sand."

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The next example is full of a subdued bitterness which is very common in Heine's poems.

"Hast thou forgot that once within thy heart
I reigned a king, and claimed a royal part?
Thy heart so sweet, so false, so frail a thing—
No flower again so sweet, so false, shall spring.

Hast thou forgot the love, the bitterness
Which in my heart together wont to press;
I know not which was greater—Love or Woe
But both, ah! both were great—thus much I know."

The last is in the mocking vein now more associated with Heine's poems than perhaps any other style.

"Thou lovest me not, thou lovest me not,
This thought brings never a care,
When I gaze in thy face, beloved,
My heart is as light as air.

Thou hatest me dear, right heartily,
Those red lips the truth have told—
Give me one kiss from that wayward mouth,
My child, I shall be consoled.

The difficulties of translation are unending. A successful translation must be to a certain extent as much an inspiration as the original poem; it is, as Martin Luther put it, "the peculiar grace and gift of God"; and the translation must produce in great measure the same effect on the reader as the original poem, or it has no right to exist. In translation from the German into English, one chief difficulty to the translator occurs more in poems of sentiment and feeling than in any other. The German nature tolerates an expression of sentiment which in the original is neither exaggerated, nor unreal, but which it is extremely difficult to reproduce in English without becoming both. The English equivalent can often not be found at all in a close rendering of the German. Strangely enough, this difficulty less frequently arises in Italian poetry, which has often a restraint and severity of expression that seems almost foreign to the language. Another difficulty not uncommon in the translation of German poetry is that there is undeniably a tendency to slip into the common-

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place. Matthew Arnold in his essay on Celtic literature has dwelt on this tendency, as a defect to which the German genius is naturally prone, and we find much German poetry marred to our mind by this peculiarity. Against this, too, the translator must be on his guard, because this tendency is likely to become accentuated during the transition to another language.

Lenau, who was a contemporary of Heine, was a man of a very different stamp. Though possessed of much beauty and tenderness, his poems are characterized by an excessive melancholy, the result partly of the sombre and despondent state of mind which was natural to him, partly of an unhappy love affair which tinged the whole of his life. He was by birth a Hungarian, though educated in Germany, and many of his poems are vivid pictures of the Hungarian country familiar to him in childhood. Lenau's poetry has much in common with that of Emmanuel Geibel, but the despondent element which is so marked in the former is lacking in Geibel's work. His poetry is extremely popular in Germany. It is invariably sweet and melodious, and generally deeply tinctured with religious feeling, if at times somewhat lacking in force.

With Freiligrath and Herwegh, both of whom contributed largely to the lyric poetry of this period, another note is struck. They were among the first to make poetry the channel of their political views. The patriotic poems of both were among their finest efforts, and coming as they did at a time of much political agitation, were received with the wildest enthusiasm. To these names may be added that of Anastasius Grun, as the Graf von Auersperg chose to be called in his adopted country. The translation subjoined of Herwegh's "Walk at Midnight," though but imperfectly reproducing the force and fire of the original, may yet give some idea of this famous poem.

"My spirit passes in the silent night
Through each deserted street and quiet lane,
Astir an hour ago with laughter light,
Or passionate weeping—now comes rest again.
The air is parched and drooping like a flower,
The revellers' foaming cup has ceased to gleam.
And care has vanished with the sunset hour,
The world is weary,—let it rest and dream.

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How all my hate and passion die away
As the day closes soft with sun or showers
And the moon sheds her reconciling ray
Although it fall but on fast dying flowers.
Light as a breath, unresting as a star
My spirit roams through shade and pallid gleam,
And clear and open as its own thoughts are
Lie the dim workings of each secret dream.

My shadow glides behind me like a spy—
I pause before a prison's guarded door
Or Fatherland, thy son loved faithfully,
And for that faithful love he paid full sore.
He sleeps—nor knows that all his hopes have past.
He dreams perchance of his old forest stream—
He dreams he holds the victor's crown at last,
O God of freedom, leave to him, his dream.

Stately before me, under watch and ward
A palace towers—I pass the curtains' sheen
And see one who in sleep still grasps his sword,
One with sin marred and terror-stricken mien,
Haggard his face and yellow as his crown—
All decked for flight his coursers' trappings gleam—
He tumbles headlong, and the earth breaks down,
O God of justice—leave him to his dream.

The little cabin by the lonely stream,—
Hunger and innocence have here their place
Yet the poor peasant has his God-sent dream
Which all the long day's misery shall efface,
For every seed from Morpheus' hand that falls
Shall a fair harvest field before him gleam,
The narrow hut shall stretch to palace walls
God of the needy—let the poor man dream.

At the last house, before the bench of stone
With words of blessing on my lips I pause;
I love thee, dearest, but not thee alone,
Thou wilt not grudge my love in freedom's cause.

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Butterflies hover round thy slumbers light,
For me the rush of steeds, the battle's stream,
Thine is the dove's wing, mine the eagle's flight;
O God of love—still let my loved one dream.

O star! whose light, like joy, through clouds must break
O night! close wrapped in thy dark veil of blue,
Let not the sorrowful earth too soon awake,
Our sad and toil-worn hearts again to view.
The earliest sunbeam shines on falling tears,
And Freedom's sword by day unsheathed must gleam
The arm of Tyranny once more uprears.
O God of sleep and waking, let us dream."

We come now to the more distinctly modern section of German lyric poets, who are most largely represented in the Anthology before us, and perhaps least known to English readers. We do not find here any poet of surpassing excellence, although many possess in no small degree that sympathetic faculty of appreciation and capacity of expression which Goethe declares to be the two essential qualities of a true poet. In the absence of the social and political agitation which reacted on the poets of the first half of this century, we find an atmosphere less intense and perhaps less inspiring, which doubtless has its influence on the present generation of poets. The fire of patriotic feeling has died away, the intense and overwhelming Weltschmerz which lay heavy on the hearts of the preceding generation has given place, to a large extent, to a tone of indifference and scepticism equally characteristic. There is a large preponderance of "vers de société," of short epigrammatic poems in the manner of Heine. Many of these are very sweet and graceful. Among them are the poems of Marie von Eschenbach, Gottschall, Lingg, Hopfen and others. Of the two poems given below the first is by Marie von Eschenbach.

"A little song—how comes it then,
It finds its way to the hearts of men?
What lies within it? prithee tell.

A little quaint refrain is there,
A little story—a little air,
And somebody's soul as well."

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In this, as in the next poem by Hans Hopfen, there is the suggestion of a deeper thought than lies on the surface.

"Eager heart, let the question rest
What shall the spring-time bring?
Green grass springing—song bird's nest
Violets blossoming.

Love of woman and pain of heart
Springing at Spring's behest.
Joy its measure, and sin its part—
Heart—let the question rest.

There is a touch of sadness in these lines which seems inseparable in the poet's mind from the thought of Spring. It is almost invariably found from Uhland downwards, in all the poems dealing with Spring and Spring life.

The short poem given below by Julius Sturm is in a different strain to the preceding examples. It is a lineal descendant of the Mahrchen which still delight the hearts of the German people and their children, and represents a class of verse which is too characteristic and popular to be omitted. It might be the voice of Hans Andersen who speaks.

"To the white goose spoke the gray goose with a confidential mien,
'Let us go and walk together on that sward so smooth and green.
It would certainly refresh us both to taste the tender grass,
And so in pleasant company a pleasant hour we'll pass.'

'No,' said the white goose, coldly, 'I fear I must decline,
I only walk by day with geese in the same set as mine.
Familiarity with you would hurt my reputation;
I am a goose, 'tis true, but one of very different station.'"

And in the "Pipe and Drum" of Alexis Aar we have a specimen of yet another very popular class of poetry.

"I hear the sound of piping and drumming,
Lock up the bread, mother, soldiers are coming.
Peace and rest at their step take wing,
Sorrow and trouble are all they bring.
Ready, no doubt, to deal foemen a blow,
But friends oft the weight of their strong arm know.

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Methinks they fancy the whole world's treasure
Is at their service, to do them pleasure.

I hear the sound of piping and drumming,
Lock up thy heart, maiden, soldiers are coming.
Proudly they march in war's array,
By kiss and promise they win their way.
Well can the soldier flatter and wile,
Luring the heart with many a guile;
But if thou trust him, then woe betide,
Thou wilt be his plaything, but not his bride.

I hear the sound of piping and drumming,
Hold back the young men, soldiers are coming;
The old still love the gay sight full well,
How shall the young heart resist the spell?
See how they follow the marching line,
How their eyes flash as the weapons shine.
Maiden, thy bridegroom, Mother, thy son!
The soldiers enticed him, and he is gone.

The touch of pathos in this vigorous little poem is very effective in the German. Alas, that so much is lost in translation! The translator cannot hope to do more than give a fair idea of these poems. Like all poetry they must be read in the original to be appreciated.

Many other names might be mentioned who have done and are doing good work in the kingdom of poetry including Sturm, Aar, Von Rohrscheidt and others. Among these, the name of Carmen Sylva, Queen of Roumania, is perhaps better known than any other, both as novelist and poet. There is a halo of romance about the life of this poet queen, but her poetical work cannot rank very high. Her lyric poems are something in the style of Heine, but they lack the delicacy and lightness which is the very essence of his poems, and the subject and metre are apt to be commonplace. The following example may serve as a fair specimen of her lyrical poems. It is called the "Shoemaker's Song".

"Here is a piece of leather,—
In my hand I hold the last,
But over the edge a little foot
Is forever gliding past.

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Oh! what a dainty little foot,
Perfect from heel to toe!
And in the shoe I'm making
To the next dance 'twill go.

It will scarcely touch the floor,
As it skims across the ground,
With a thousand dainty footsteps,
Admired by all around.

For the first dance will all aspire,
And fear lest she decline;
And think, 'Oh, that the little foot,
And the little maid were mine.'

Now, that all this may come about,
My utmost here I do,
And, like a fool, despairing press'
To my heart the empty shoe."

As might be expected from the aim of the editor, a wide range of subjects is included in these poems. The well-worn themes of love, war, and wine, all touched and transmuted, however, by the modern spirit, are here. The philosophy, science, and art of the present day have left their traces; the tone of thought has become deeper and more complex in harmony with the age. Nature in her manifold manifestations is still one of the most favourite themes, and the love of Nature, which has been one chief source of inspiration throughout the century, often finds very sweet and tender expression in these modern lyrics. The comfort and healing power to be found in her presence is beautifully expressed in "the Refuge," by Frankl, and in "In the Forest," by Bowitsch. Of the latter a translation is given.

Lonely I pass through the forest,
And the song of birds
Floats through the branches above me
Like Love's sweet words.

Lonely I pass through the forest,
And the breath of flowers
Greets me like Love's caresses
In morning hours.

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Lonely I pass through the forest,
And the flowing stream
Weaves song and ripple and perfume,
Into my dream.

And I find the hopes I buried
In the grave of yore,
The joy of youth, and the sweetness
In the woods once more."

We pass over with regret many other names whose poems deserve some notice, but lack of space forbids. On the whole as we glance over the long list of those who have their place in the German "Dichter Wald," the review is an encouraging one. If most of the poetry now produced cannot be included among the highest efforts of the imagination, it has at any rate many of the elements of true poetry. Simplicity, spontaneity, love of Nature, love of man, all find expression, if not always in the noblest form, still in genuine and melodious fashion, and where these are present, we are justified in looking for a fuller development of the poetic art. But wide-spread as the love of poetry is among the German people, there is no one who can be pointed out as preeminently the representative poet of his age. The conditions are apparently favourable, the materials lie ready to hand, but the poet who is to leave the mark of his own individuality indelibly impressed on his age has not yet arisen. We wait his advent.

LOIS SAUNDERS.

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THE EDUCATION OF THE CLERGY.

Mr. President, Honored Fathers and Brethren:

A STRANGE sense of intellectual weakness, brokenness and incapacity, sometimes takes hold upon a man. That is in no small degree my experience to-night. I look at our subject, the Education of our Ministry, for that surely is pre-eminently our subject, and I cannot shake off the consciousness that a subject of such vast importance, a subject which affects so greatly the life, the usefulness, the destiny, of our ministry, our membership, our adherents, in a word, a subject with which the best interests of our church are directly interwoven, a subject which indirectly affects all churches, organizations and institutions in our land, can receive but scant justice from me. I but stand at the threshold of the temple of knowledge, or, at best, have had but a glimpse at the rich treasures which may be found within, a glimpse which reveals ignorance and stimulates desire without even in an ordinary degree satisfying aspiration. Still I will, as Carlyle would say, in God's name attempt to introduce the subject.

Viewed from any standpoint our subject is vast. And there are so many standpoints from which it may be viewed. I venture to say that of all many-sided subjects Education, human education, the right development of man's complex nature, the teaching that nature to see what is best, the inspiring that nature to do what is best, has the greatest number of sides. It includes whatever we do for ourselves and whatever others do for us for the express purpose of bringing us somewhat nearer to the perfection of our complex nature. But it includes more. In its widest acceptance it comprehends all the indirect effects produced on our faculties and character. Laws, forms of government, modes of social life, and even climate, have all a powerful though in a great degree imperceptible influence in the education of man. In this broad sense, whatever helps to shape the human being, to make him what he is or to prevent him from being what he is not, is part of his education. Education, then,

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is the developing or perfecting of all the root-principles of man's nature, together with the correction of all wrong tendencies. It reveals to the man gradually as it developes what he really is, nor can it be said to have completed its work till it inspires his being to make the best of all his powers for God's glory and human good. It is not the possession of knowledge, except in so far as knowledge makes the man wiser, better, more profound in his thinking, more discriminating in his judgment, more far-reaching in his insight, more comprehensive, disinterested and humanity-embracing in his purposes and plans. A man may know much and yet know little and be less. He may have an accurate knowledge of what are regarded as historical, theological, or scientific facts, while he has never asked the question, are these facts, and if so why so, and if not why not? His education has yet to be begun. Here I have a great quarrel with what I will call the cram system, and with what I will call the mere mechanical system of education, which I fear are all too prevalent. In the one a student tries by skimming the surface of a subject, spending on it a few short weeks, or even a few short days, to make a pass and be called educated. In the other, the ill-guided or misguided student is led to think that education consists in what may be called getting up authors for examination. A most serious blunder. A man may know that certain kings lived and died, that certain empires rose, flourished, faded, crumbled, or were burned in their own ashes, while he has utterly failed to grasp the why, and how of success or failures in the case of individuals or of nations. We may have a correct knowledge of facts and yet be utterly ignorant of the great lessons which these facts are designed to teach. What is needed is not that a man should be an itinerant encyclopedia, but that he should be able to think correctly and rightly, that he should have his mind stored with—or better yet—swayed by great ideas, ideas that are above mere bread and butter for self. I would have his mind stored with great ideas, not as you would store odds and ends in a garret, not as you would store wheat in a bin, not even as you would store well assorted and labelled manuscripts in pigeon-holes whence you can secure them at will. I would have the ideas penetrate and dominate and pos-

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sess the man until the ideas are the man and the man is the ideas.

Education, then, is the developing of man's powers systematically and harmoniously. Thus they shall, so to speak, understand each other and work together for the completest realization of the individual, and they shall see that it is accomplished by working for the completest realization of the human brotherhood. But to my subject, the education of the ministry. It should be liberal, liberal in the sense of being broad. It is incapable of exact and permanent definition. As humanity, intellectually, morally and spiritually presses toward a higher height, the boundaries of a liberal education become extended. What would have been regarded as a liberal education in Canada one hundred years ago would not be so regarded to-day. Indeed, men's views of liberal education change with the cycles of the suns. In this age of rapid transition men's views of liberal education in some of its aspects might also be said to change with the seasons, while, of course, there has ever been and will forever be in liberal education elements which change not. Time was when to be ignorant of a quantity in Homer would have caused a man who regarded himself educated to blush crimson. But that same man could not perhaps have solved the simplest problem in social science. To-day a man may be almost totally ignorant of Greek and yet be regarded as a liberally educated man. Perhaps we have swung to the opposite extreme. Be that as it may, no man can now claim to be educated who is ignorant of himself, of the laws of nature, of his real relation to men and to God, of the social problems which like slumbering volcanoes often terrify the heart and threaten the very life of civilized society. Perhaps we might provisionally define a liberal education as the acquisition, the evolution or the development of a power of thought, a keenness of insight, a depth and purity of feeling and a nobility of purpose considerably in advance of the average of our times; together with a reliable knowledge of all those sciences, material, mental and moral, which bear directly on human life and destiny. Such an education we crave for our ministry. Remember, it is the real development, the real culture, the real knowledge I advocate.

Strange as it may appear, some good men seem afraid that

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the broadest, deepest, most thorough mental development would not be best for the ministry. They mean well, but they do not see far. They seem to think that if the human mind should be developed to its highest and should then be permitted with perfect freedom to pursue its investigations it might find out or seem to itself to find out things that would greatly weaken it. It might lose faith in God, in the immortality of the human soul, in future rewards and punishments. Such a fear but makes manifest the latent doubt which possesses the minds of those who cherish it. God is. The soul is immortal. Rewards and righteous retribution are eternal. The more thorough the development of the human mind and the more patient, honest and thorough the scrutiny the more clearly will be seen the eternal, indestructible rock foundations on which these fundamental beliefs of our holy religion rest. There is much truth, and much profound knowledge, together with a healthful sprinkling of irony in the words of James Russell Lowell, "I take great comfort in God. I think that He is considerably amused with us sometimes, but that He loves us on the whole, and would not let us get at the match-box so carelessly as He does, unless He knew that the frame of His universe was fire-proof. How many times have I not seen the fire engines of church and state, clanging and lumbering along to put out a false alarm. And when the sky is cloudy what a glare can be cast by a burning shanty!" The Church especially since the Reformation has become accustomed to such false alarms and shanty fires, and so she is ceasing to cry for the Atlantic to extinguish a brush heap. Far otherwise, the heart of the Church is beginning to believe the words of Gerald Massey,

> "There is no pathway man has ever trod
> By faith or seeking life, but ends in God."

In this respect we are in true apostolic succession. The ancient Church encouraged the study of heathen literature, a literature which in a darker period of the Church's life she learned without discrimination or with very little discrimination to regard as profane. She is now slowly learning to do the thought of the ages justice. Some of the early fathers slept with a copy of one of the Greek poets under their pillow. Tertullian allowed Christian boys to attend public schools under pagan masters. Origen

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made the study of Greek poets and moralists preparatory to that of higher Christian truth. Clement taught that philsophy was the testament or dispensation given to the Greeks, the Schoolmaster to bring them to Christ as the Mosaic law was designed to bring the Jews. His teaching in this regard, history tells us, was generally accepted. Indeed, to this day the traveller finds portrayed on the walls of the porticoes of Eastern Churches, the figures of Homer, the great Greek poet, Thucydides, the Greek historian, and Pythagoras and Plato, both seekers after God in the realms of philosophy as pioneers preparing the way for Christianity. And why should it be otherwise? Does not the imperfect prepare the way for the more perfect, does not the dawn prepare for the sun's clear shining. Development continuous and forever seems to be God's method of perfecting our world. We at any rate have nothing to fear but everything to hope from the most thorough investigation. For interest is truth and truth will prevail. I know there are some who hold that ignorance is the best soil for devotion. Within the last year it was said in a Methodist Class-meeting that a minister does not need to know A from B or 2 from 3. He needs but to be filled with the Holy Ghost. Far be it from me to minify in the slightest degree the Baptism of the Holy Ghost. May we have it in greater abundance. Scholarship can never take its place. If substituted for it scholarship would be a cold, lifeless, powerless failure, but scholarship, a thoroughly developed manhood can be hallowed, consecrated, made useful by the baptism of the Divine Spirit to a degree that ignorance has not been and as I think will not in the nature of things be. As we would expect, the man who made the statement I have given you was himself ignorant. What little theological teaching he had received he needed largely to unlearn. We have but to review past history to become convinced that while ignorance has ever been good soil for bigotry, good soil for spiritual pride, good soil for intolerance, good soil for superstition and persecution, it has never been good soil for the most unselfish and philanthropic Christian spirit. Indeed, wherever nations have crumbled to the dust or been burned in their own ashes, and wherever individuals have made the worst or failed to make the best of life it has been largely owing to lack of knowledge. Without development man is but the veriest shadow

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of what he might be. You can place on your hand two little seeds, one the seed of the mighty oak tree, another the seed of the beautiful garden flower. You have on your hand in germ, in possibility, in potentiality, the oak tree and the beautiful flower. Throw them on the barren rock—no oak tree—no flower. Place them in unpropitious environment, a dwarf oak—a puny, sickly, ill-developed flower. They scarcely give you a hint of what they might have been. Just so man. Leave him completely uneducated—he is near the lower animals. Educate but his intellect, and you have a fine, clear, cold, hard, selfish thinking machine. Put him to the school of Christ, teach him that the highest life is completely unselfish, and you have a being a little lower than the angels, who can under human limitations think God's thoughts after Him and who will under human limitations perform God's acts of kindness, mercy and love. I need not quote that oft-repeated sentence, "Knowledge is power;" so is sentiment, so is emotion, so is enthusiasm, emotion intensified, but never more so, never as much so as when they are sanctified through the truth received by the intellect or by the man as a thinking being. After all there is no little truth in the words, "Mind, mind alone, is light and hope and life and power." Mind, cultured mind, developed mind, has done much through the centuries. Walk into one of our great manufactories, see steam hammers shaping many shafts and anchors, walk into a telegraph office and transmit your thoughts to another soul in another hemisphere almost instantaneously, stand by the telephone and speak to your friend hundreds of miles away with as great ease as though he were in the next room, and then tell me is not your mind-culture giving power over nature for human good. Every man will soon be our next-door neighbor, the earth a point, and yet a point on which the increasing millions of the human family can under more exalting conditions live. Nor is it alone along lines of material discovery and material invention that mind is manifesting its beneficent influence. Alongside of that and, perhaps, facilitated by that, have originated world-embracing plans for human betterment or for highest human well-being. The rights of humanity are being considered with a view to their adoption as a part of the creed by which we live. Human brotherhood is writing itself in characters of living light and loving heat on the hearts of earth's

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best. All this is finding expression in self-denying effort for human good. But alongside all this we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that intellectual force is frequently perverted, that while the most unselfish plan the best for others, the selfish plan the mean best, which is the worst for self, and through mind-development crush and curse others to secure it. We live in an age of vast possibilities for good or evil, and the man of *God* has entrusted to his heart and brain, to his whole being, the duty of guiding and inspiring all toward the best.

Thou hast a brave calling, and therewith we charge thee:
Thy brow bear this frontlet, thy finger this seal,
This think thou, and feel,
"I am set for the life of the Great Commonweal."
That which God hath begun
To fulfil in His Son,
His high purpose to gather together in one
All things both in earth and in heaven, be that
Too thy purpose; thereat
Work thou with thy God, in the sight of the sun
Till thy work shall be done.
Thy articulate word
Be the breath of His mouth, be the stroke of His sword,
To strengthen or slay,
In the strife of thy day,
The good or the evil that girds for the fray.
God grant thee His benison, guide thee and prosper,
As only He may!

The minister's work is the broadest, the most far-reaching, and requires a deeper insight and a purer feeling than the work of any other. He stands in some sense between men and God. He is in a very special sense *God's man* in the world. He stands between man and man with all their seemingly conflicting interests, and is expected in God's name to show them that way out. He cannot afford to be ignorant of the social problems which press themselves on society's heart for solution. If he is, then he is weak. No man can do more to bind together the atoms of human society which often through ignorance of their real good repel each other than the Christian minister. He stands between

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the rich and poor, and shows that it is the interest of both to be and act as brethren. Then there are intellectual problems which trouble men's minds. This is an age of investigation. This is an age of criticism. Nothing can escape criticism. Nothing should desire to escape it. A fundamental principle of Protestant Christianity is the right of private judgment. Men are using their judgment or their intellectual or reasoning powers as perhaps at no other time in the Church's history. Sometimes they find themselves in the cloud-land of doubt. Can we traverse the ground with them; will we do it patiently, rationally, sympathetically? Then we have helped a human brother. Will we fling a cruel epithet at them, such as black-hearted infidel? Then we have lost an opportunity for doing good, and have perhaps confirmed a soul in unbelief. That is the great need on the intellectual side. Then there is a problem with which we have to grapple on the lower side; it is the thorough training of those who have little knowledge and much feeling, and are in danger of grossest self-deception. One of our wisest ministers, preaching to the graduating class of one of our Colleges in 1882, said, "We have seen whole Conferences blighted, burned over with a fanaticism the flames of which were fed by ignorance." In such cases our work is to light up the brain, to awake thought, and withal to inspire a nobler feeling than any possessed before. I have often asked myself, why we have in our Church so many who have more zeal than knowledge? The answer has invariably been, were we better trained as ministers such a condition of things would be largely transformed for good. The minister needs to be a man who can touch the pulse of the world's thought at the right time and in the right direction for the world's good. He is to stimulate and guide its thinking. He must have been trained to think himself. The minister needs to be a man who can exorcise passion, pride, envy, hate and selfishness from human hearts. He needs in our sin-cursed world to inspire a love that will never die. He needs to have that heart-culture himself. The minister needs to be thoroughly conversant with the world's deepest thinking and deepest feeling. Otherwise there comes a time when men say he cannot help them, and turn to sources called secular, saying that the sources supposed to be sacred have failed. A sad calamity that, a very sad calamity when men turn

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away from those who are called of God, because they regard them as not qualified to give the needed help. I would, then, reiterate the fact that knowledge is power. It is power to the nation, it is power to the Church, it is power to the individual. Power has ever fallen, power is now falling, power will forever fall into the hands of those who have brains that can think and hearts that can feel for the rest. They have developed their latent powers, they have utilized the grand heritage of truth bequeathed to them by the upward struggle of the ages. They know how to place the human mind in the right attitude toward truth, hence power has fallen into their hands. This has been always so. It is, I think, so now in a greater degree than at any other period of history. The world is recognizing the aristocracy of thought. The men who have the deepest insight rule the world. The world could get along without some of its crowned heads, some of its Members of Parliament, who are supposed to make its laws, but the world could not without great hurt lose one of its seers. The Church needs to-day, the world needs to-day, thoroughly developed men everywhere. The interests of the race demand most thoroughly developed men in our Christian pulpits. Toward this thorough development college training *should* be, and when things *are* as they *ought* to be *will* be, helpful. Contact with living, thinking men who are themselves in most hearty sympathy with the main stream of the world's intellectual life, contact with men who have reached intellectual and spiritual waters to swim in and are not afraid to try the ocean under the guiding eye of their God, contact with living and thinking men who, I will not say know everything; but who do know the subjects they teach and who can impart their knowledge, must be very helpful to the student. Again, in the college he is freed from work and has access to a library. And not least among the advantages of college life is contact with other minds which are hungering after knowledge. Every young minister should have the privilege of a college course. Every student should set before himself not a petty intellectual fastidiousness, not what some one has called "a fine ladyism of the intellect." These grow most luxuriantly on the thin and artificial soil of minds at once vain and second-rate. College life should ring the death-knell of all such fastidious littleness, and at the same time ring the birth-peal of a nobler, manlier, train of thought.

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"Greatly begin; though thou have time
But for a line, be that sublime—
Not failure but low aim is crime."

There are men who go to college and who are not educated. There are men who get degrees without going to college who are not educated men. There are men who go not to college and get no degrees who are educated. They all become known. They cannot hide what they are, or, as the case may be, what they are not. You can tell almost at a glance the thoroughly developed man. His equilibrium of nature, his complete self-control, his breadth of view, his depth of insight, his honesty of purpose, his purity of motive, his freedom from superstition, his freedom from prejudice, his toleration, his broad philanthropy, his patience, his self-denial, his hope,—all these shine out with a bright yet a mild and tender radiance which marks him as a man who has reached the mountain top of spiritual life, whose brow is bathed in eternal light and whose heart is hallowed by eternal love. Such a man deserves to become a leader of men, and he will. God has so ordered it. What we crave for our pulpits, then, is men who are *great* with truest eminence, *strong* with divinest power, *wise* with deepest knowledge, free with broadest liberty; men who will fill nobly the place assigned them by endeavoring to place the present a little in advance of the past, and by laying a foundation for a future in advance of the present. May such men in our Church throughout become a thousand-fold more than they are, and then God will bless us as He has promised. But if we are to have these things in a degree worthy of what we call the Great Methodist Church, there must be educational missionary work done heartily, conscientiously and continuously in every circuit and station until all our people are possessed by a sympathy for our Educational Institutions, based on love begotten of and guided by light. Such a sympathy cannot fail to manifest itself in a general systematic liberality which will make our Church a more potent factor in shaping the destiny of our land. In many departments of Christian toil Methodism has taken no second place. As an evangelizing agency she has been greatly blessed by God. On the great missionary question her heart has been

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found sympathetic and her purse open. She has led the way for a century and a half in the great temperance movement. One does not feel like finding fault with her; she has done so much so nobly. But yet, in the matter of liberal culture in the pulpit and pew, we long for the time when she can with honest self-respect point to theologians, scientists, poets, philosophers, and statesmen, who are known beyond the village spire. It should be the ambition of Methodism to have men of world-wide reputation in every department of thought and action. I she is to accomplish this, then she will do well to regard the past as but her beginning lessons only, she will do well to survey with single eye the broad field of opportunity beckoning grandly before her, she will do well to make herself familiar with the conditions of broadest and most permanent success, she will do well to "Give rein to the strength of her heart, the fire of her dreams, and prepare a nobler and higher example of what she can plan and can dare." May the time soon come when both ministers and laymen in Methodism will regard it as at least a part of pure religion to consecrate some of their wealth to the purpose of making the higher education of the ministry a possibility. No money so invested can be lost.

There has befallen literature of late years a grievous, even an irreparable blow. It has lost the *salon*. There are no longer *grandes dames de par le monde*, who attract to their drawing-rooms the leaders and the lesser lights of literature; there are no longer, so far as I know, any places at all, even any clubs, which are recognized centres of literature; there are no longer any houses where one will be sure to find great talkers, and to hear them talking all night long. There are no longer any great talkers—that is to say, many men there are who talk well, but there are no Sydney Smiths or Macaulays, and in houses where the Sydney Smith of the day would go for his talk; he would not be encouraged to talk much after midnight.

Fifty years ago there were two houses which, each in its own way, were recognised centres of literature. Every man of letters went to Gore House, which was open to all; and every man of letters who could get there went to Holland House.

WALTER BESANT.—*Fifty Years Ago.*

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DANTE AND MEDIEVAL THOUGHT.

IV.—THE FORM AND CONTENT OF THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.

THE Theology and Politics of Dante, of which we have now obtained some idea, do not express his deepest conception of life. His Theology, although it is no mere transcript of the system of doctrine current in his day, is yet little more than an intelligent reading and combination of Aquinas and the mystics; while his Politics, which is more independent and original, is mainly the clear statement of a dead ideal. But the presentation, under the poet's form of eternity, of human life in all its types is living down to its minutest fibre. Here Dante is in his own special realm, and in it he moves with the assured tread of a master. The framework in which his pictures are presented is traditional; but under the form of the three kingdoms of the future world—Hell, Purgatory and Paradise—we are brought face to face with living men and women, as they play their parts in the world of our own experience, dashing themselves against the eternal laws of the universe, painfully struggling with the temptations of the flesh, or moving forward joyously and freely in the higher life. Before we go on to a closer consideration of Dante's great work, it will be necessary to say a few words about the form in which he embodies his ideas.

We have not gone very far in the *Divine Comedy* before we feel that the author has cast his thought into a mould which is strange and unfamiliar to us. The very first words of the poem bring this home to us.

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura.

(In the middle of the pathway of our life I found myself in a dark wood.)

What is this middle or central point of human life? In the *Convito* (iv. 2, 3) Dante tells us that the life of every creature may be imaged as an arch, and that in a normal being the ascent and descent of the arch should be precisely equal. Aristotle had a perception of this truth when he spoke of Youth as an increase

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of life. In man the top of the arch is at the thirty-fifth year. This seems to be shown by the fact that our Lord "was a perfectly natural man, who willed to die at the age of thirty-four, because it was not meet that the Divine should have place in the descending segment." Dante no doubt has also in his mind the words of the Psalmist: "The days of our years are threescore years and ten."

We have in this passage another instance of the Scholastic method of settling a question of natural history by an appeal to the authority of Aristotle and of Scripture, and by a forced and unnatural interpretation of their words. My main object, however, in citing this passage is not to illustrate the artificial character of Dante's exegesis, of which we have already had various instances, but to draw attention to the peculiar fascination which the symmetry of numbers exercised over his mind. All his writings are full of it. In the *Vita Nuova*, for example, he tells us that he first met Beatrice at the beginning of his ninth year; at a later period, after an illness of nine days, the thought of her death came to him on the ninth day; she died on the ninth day of the ninth month, "computing by the Syrian method," and in that year of our Lord "when the perfect number ten was nine times completed in that century." The number nine was friendly to her, because the nine heavens were in conjunction at her birth, and she was herself the number nine, "that is, a miracle the root of which is the wonderful Trinity." The whole external structure of the *Divine Comedy* is determined by this symmetry of numbers. Written in *terza rima*, "the whole number of cantos is one hundred, the perfect number ten multiplied into itself; but if we count the first canto of the *Inferno* as a Prelude, which it really is, each part will consist of thirty-three cantos, making nine in all, and so the favorite mystic numbers reappear."* Again, there are nine circles in the *Inferno*, nine terraces in the *Purgatorio*, and nine spheres in the *Paradiso*.

Not merely in numbers, but in spatial or geometrical relations, Dante finds everywhere a perfect symmetry of parts. This will be best seen by looking at his picture of the physical structure of the universe. Precisely in the centre stands the earth, forever

*Longfellow's Dante, I., p. 116.

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fixed and immovable, enveloped by a series of concentric spheres which constitute the heavens. The world as a whole is thus definitely limited in extent. On the northern hemisphere of the earth dry land predominates, while the southern hemisphere is covered with sea, with the exception of the Mount of Purgatory. As the earth is the centre of the world, so the centre of the northern hemisphere is the Mount of Jerusalem, where "the Man who was born and lived without sin was consumed," and precisely opposite to it in the southern hemisphere is the Mount of Purgatory. Hell Dante figures as an inverted cone, the apex of which is at the centre of the earth. Around its mouth lies a broad plain, beneath which are nine circles gradually narrowing in circumference. The Mount of Purgatory is also conical, and over its base lie nine terraces, while on its summit is located the Earthly Paradise. Beyond the circumambient air are the nine successive heavenly spheres: the seven spheres of the planets—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, the Sun, (conceived by Dante as a planet), Jupiter and Saturn; then the sphere of the Fixed Stars; and, lastly the *Primum Mobile*, enveloping and as it were closing in all the others,—"the royal mantle of all the rolls of the universe." The Empyrean is not material and spatial, but an inextended centre of light and love, the special abode of the Primal Reason.

This outline of Dante's cosmography is enough to show how strongly his mind is dominated by the idea of the geometrical or architectural symmetry of the universe. This idea evidently springs from the conviction that the orderly arrangement of parts must be the product of the formative activity of the divine reason. Like the Pythagoreans the medieval mind seemed to see in the balance and proportion of parts the hidden operation of a formative principle. And no doubt the instinct is sound, though it snatches at a superficial and external harmony, instead of seeking for the deeper mathematical harmony which modern science has shown to be involved in the laws of nature. With wonderful art Dante employs the fanciful symmetry which he seems to detect in the "great cathedral of immensity" to bring his luxuriant material into order, and to suggest the correspondence of the three states of consciousness symbolized by Hell, Purgatory and Paradise. In this way his passion for precision and definiteness

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is satisfied; and it is one of the evidences of his remarkable constructive faculty that he is able in the *Inferno* to be geometrically precise without sacrificing the complex material which he had to work into the structure of his poem.

The cosmography of Dante is the product of distinct points of view. It is partly based upon the science of his day. When he maintains that the earth is spherical, and that the southern hemisphere is covered with water and therefore uninhabited; when he adopts the Ptolemaic system of astronomy with its cycles and epicycles; and when he attributes the movement of the heavens to the action of the *primum mobile:* in all these cases his method, though not his results, is scientific, being based upon observation and induction. But he passes without a break to a totally new order of ideas when he seeks to determine physical facts by the authority of the Church and of Scripture. Now his question is, not what are the facts, but what must the facts be? Jerusalem is the central point on the earth's surface, because there the event happened which is the central fact in the history of man; and if further proof were required, does not the prophet Ezekiel say: "This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst the nations?" I have said that Dante is scientific in his method when he affirms the whole southern hemisphere to be covered with water; at any rate he is here unscientific only because he goes beyond what known facts warrant; but when he adds that Ulysses and his companions were engulfed in the waters of the ocean, because in sailing beyond the Pillars of Hercules they were impiously seeking to penetrate the hidden mysteries of the future life, he falls back upon the arbitrary restrictions of the Church. Again, when he seeks to explain the movements of the heavenly spheres by the impulse of the *primum mobile*, his explanation, though it is no doubt erroneous, is not contrary to the method of science; but when he accounts for these movements by the nine orders of angels traditional since Dionysius the Areopagite, he substitutes a theological for a scientific explanation. Similarly, when he adds to the Ptolemaic system the Empyrean, he does so on the express principle that it is maintained in the Catholic system of doctrine. When, however, the Church has not laid down any explicit doctrine, Dante like other medieval thinkers feels free to employ his own faculty of invention. Thus, though the

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Church had affirmed that the local abode of souls after death is Hell, Purgatory or Paradise, it had not fixed the precise locality of these realms, and hence the poet gives them the form best adapted to his general scheme. Tradition placed Hell and Purgatory in the bowels of the earth as contiguous abodes; Dante with much more significance makes Purgatory a mountain, to indicate the slow and laborious effort of purification, and places it in the free air with the stars overhead to suggest hope and aspiration. Tradition located the Earthly Paradise in various remote places, but always on the surface of the earth; while Dante with finer feeling transfers it to the summit of the Purgatorial Mount in full view of the Heavenly Paradise. In thus giving free play to his imagination, but always within the limits of the general doctrine of the Church, Dante illustrates a marked characteristic of medieval thought. The schoolmen were by no means agreed in their manner of conceiving the doctrines of the Church; it was enough that they observed their larger outlines and respected the principle of authority. So Dante always accepts the doctrines which have been distinctly formulated, but he does not scruple to give the rein to his own invention where the Church has made no authoritative decision.

The same union of science and dogma which the Cosmography of Dante illustrates is shown in his manner of viewing the processes of nature. One of the most remarkable instances of that union is given in Buonconte of Montefeltro's account of his own death. "I am Buonconte: Giovanna [his wife] nor anyone else cares for me; wherefore I go among these spirits with downcast brow." Flying through the night after the battle of Campaldino with a wound in his throat, he falls by the shore of the Archiano; but, folding his arms on his breast in the form of the cross, with his last breath he calls on the name of Mary. The Angel of God received his spirit, but He of Hell was allowed to work his will on the mortal part. Then follows a description of the formation of rain which is as precise as a scientific manual, without ceasing to be poetic. A moist vapour gathered in the air: "that Evil Will, who ever uses his intelligence for evil, came and set vapour and wind in motion. As evening fell, over the valley from Pratomagno to the great ridge of the Appenines was spread a thick vapour, and the heavens were overcast with cloud, and the preg-

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nant air converted into water." The rain fell, and saturating the earth flowed forth in rills, which converged into great streams that rushed towards the "royal river," the Archiano. Swollen and impetuous, the Archiano overflowed its banks, and, seizing the body of Buonconte, whirled it into the Arno, loosening the crossed arms, rolling it along the banks and over the bed of the river and finally "wrapping it round with its spoils."

Without dwelling upon the poetic perfection of this passage, with its pathetic "Giovanna nor anyone else cares for me," we must note the peculiar combination of scientific accuracy and medieval theology which it exhibits. The description of the formation of rain by condensation and of the subsequent phenomena is written by one who possessed the "scientific imagination" in its highest form; but, interwoven with it, is the medieval conception of the untameable forces of nature as manifestatious of diabolic malice. The outer phenomenon is apprehended with absolute precision, but behind it is the agency of the Evil Will which is hostile to man. Nor is this a solitary case: there is not in Dante, so far as I know, any instance in which the harsh or terrible forces of nature are conceived as divine. The sublime aspects of nature are always regarded by the medieval mind as simply hostile to man; they are never, as in modern poetry, conceived as kindred to the human soul. The absolute opposition of evil and good is applied even within the sphere of physical nature.

The truth is that Dante, though he fixes with unerring precision upon the characteristic feature of a sensible object and has the power of bringing it visibly before us, does not regard nature as the manifestation of the divine, but at the most as a symbol of the wisdom of the divine Artificer. God is not in nature but beyond it. The conception of nature as containing within it the divine Presence is foreign to his as to all medieval minds. And this explains the fact to which Ruskin calls attention, that he never confuses the visible object with that of which it is the symbol. The shades waiting by the shores of Acheron, when they are struck by the oar of Charon, drop into the boat "like the dry leaves of Autumn," but the leaves are leaves, and the shades shades. Wordsworth has the same power of literal accuracy in describing a natural object, as when he speaks of the star-like

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shadow thrown by the wayside flower, but unlike Dante the flower is for him besides an expression of the universal life which is immanent in all things. The true region of Dante is the human soul with its terrible gift of freedom to will the evil and the awful issues which hang upon its choice. We must therefore leave these external matters and seek to get a closer view of the destiny of man.

No poet who ever lived has the same power as Dante of making us feel the insignificance of all external distinctions as compared with the one eternal distinction of a good or bad will. As if to enforce this truth in the most impressive way Dante puts into the *Inferno* men who occupied the highest positions in church and state; nay, men for whom his sympathy and admiration are so intense that he almost weeps tears of blood for them. Popes, cardinals, princes, statesmen, even his own beloved teacher, are inexorably consigned to the punishment which an impartial judgment of their character demands. For Dante is not merely a poet, but a prophet of the Lord, who must deliver the message with which he is inspired, even when his own heart is wrung with anguish. His judgments, as he believes, are based upon immutable principles, and he can do no otherwise. He places before us pictures of the naked soul, stripped of all disguise, and standing out in the translucent light of the eternal world. Thus to assume the office of judge was a terrible responsibility, as Dante well knew; and, even supported as he believed himself to be by the authority of an infallible church, we cannot wonder that the "the poem to which heaven and earth had put their hands" had "made him lean for many years." What, then, is the central principle by which Dante estimates human character; in other words, what is Evil, and what are its degrees?

The formal answer to this question is given by Dante himself in the seventeenth canto of the Purgatorio (91-139). He begins by drawing a distinction between the immediate or natural desires and those desires which belong to man because he has reason, or, in other words, because he is capable of forming ideals. The natural desires—such as the appetite for food, pleasure in visible objects, etc.—are simply innocent or instinctive. Dante, therefore, does not like the Neo-platonists regard these desires as evil. No doubt it is implied in his conception of the

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contemplative life that the highest reach of holiness is to 'scorn delights,' even those which are innocent, in view of a higher good; but here, where his mind is fixed upon the everyday life of ordinary humanity, he has nothing to say against the uncorrupted pleasures of sense. His main interest, however, is not in these, but in the life of man as a social being, who in virtue of his reason is capable of making the common good his end, or of standing apart in isolation and seeking his own good. Now, no man, he says, can really separate himself from God. This is a deep and penetrative remark the full force of which most exponents of Dante do not seem to have seen. I do not think that we are misconstruing the essence of Dante's teaching, when I say that he is here affirming the fundamental identity of the human and divine nature. In his deepest being man is ever seeking after God. As Dante elsewhere says, when he wills the evil, he is misled by the semblance of goodness which throws over it a seductive charm. So far as man comprehends his own nature as it really is, he must follow what is good. In this sense "virtue is knowledge." Containing within himself the principle which in its perfection constitutes the eternal nature of God, man can never reach true satisfaction so long as he does violence to his ineradicable love for goodness. Now, the divine principle which thus constitutes the very essence of man's rational nature is a love for his fellows. Deep within the soul of man, and even unconsciously to himself, is working the principle of self-realization by identification with others. Man can never be at unity with himself until he has made the universal good his end. But, if this is his true life, obviously he must be in contradiction with himself so long as he imagines that his own good may be found in self-seeking or unsociality. The effort to realize an individual, isolated or unsocial self is the root of all evil. The worst form of evil will therefore consist in the deliberate and conscious effort to realize a separate self. He who makes himself the centre of all his actions is denying the very essence of his being, and striking a fatal blow at the social or true self. Now, what is the extreme form of the universal self? Dante, in his classification of the various forms of evil follows the arrangement of Bonaventura, as Mr. Davidson has recently shown; and Bonaventura, as we have seen in the passage already quoted, arranges

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the mortal or soul-destroying sins in this order: Pride, Envy, Anger, Unconcern, Avarice, Gluttony, Incontinence. But of course Dante only makes this classification his starting-point, seeking to interpret it in the light of his own experience, as illuminated by the central idea of unsociality or selfishness as the source and origin of all evil. Hence he tells us that while man cannot really hate God, he can hate his neighbour, and that from such hatred all sin originates. The first three sins—Pride, Envy and Anger—are in their several degree forms of the evil will which seeks one's own good by consciously turning against the universal good. Pride, he says, is the animating principle of the man whose end in life is, not to aid his fellow man, but to humiliate him and frustrate all his efforts. "From this cause fell the angels." Absolute self-assertion is the very idealism of evil. If it could succeed in its aim, the individual would be alone in the universe, or at least all other beings would be ministers of his sublime Egoism. The perfect type of unlimited pride is therefore Satan, whom Dante appropriately places at the lowest point in the kingdom of evil. His human imitators, in their all-devouring Egoism, strike at all forms of social organization—the family, the civil community, the state, the church, the whole human race. For this reason Dante places in the lowest circle of Hell the traitors, whose deeds spring from Pride, as thus conceived. In the mouths of Satan, the incarnation of this vice, he places Brutus and Cassius, who betrayed the Empire, and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed the divine Head of the Church. Dante's principle of classification therefore demands that Pride, the uulimited affirmation of Egoism, or, what is the same thing, the absolute negation of sociality, should be regarded as the worst form of moral depravity. Dante's conception of sin is thus the logical complement of his theory of Society, as set forth in the *De Monarchia* and elsewhere. "It was an essential part of his moral system," as Mr. Symonds says,* "to estimate the heinousness of evil not by a personal, but by a social standard." Envy, the next form of evil, is the sin of "the man who dreads the loss of power, grace, honour and fame by the elevation of another, and therefore grows so bad that he loves the opposite." The envious man, as Dante conceives of him, does

*Introduction to the Study of Dante, p. 157.

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not seek to destroy the very foundation of social order, but he undermines it while ostensibly admitting its principle. Pretending to respect the principle of justice, which is the basis of society, he deprives others of their due by fraud. The traitor would sacrifice the very principle upon which society rests, the fraudulent man only prevents the just administration of that principle. Envy is therefore a less heinous sin than Pride; for even if it succeeds it is only partial in its effect, and therefore does not destroy the belief in the inviolable principles of law and justice. The third sin in order is Anger, which does not attack the institutions of society, but exercises violence against individuals. The man who gives way to this sin does not pretend that others have no rights; he recognizes their rights, but he allows his passionate hatred to overmaster his sense of justice. When it bears its legitimate fruits, Anger issues in all those crimes of violence which frankly set law at defiance without denying its validity. It thus seems to Dante less fatal in its effects than treachery or fraud, both of which strike at the social order itself, the one openly and the other secretly.

These three sins are all evil in the object at which they aim. But there are other sins which spring not from desire for an end which is itself evil, but from defect or excess. The first of these is Unconcern or Indifference, which forms a sort of middle-term between Pride, Envy and Anger, and the sins of Avarice, Intemperance and Lust. The type of character which Dante has in his mind when he speaks of Unconcern is that which has no enthusiasm for the public good. The indolent, self-indulgent man cannot be aroused from the selfish desire for his own ease and comfort; he has no enthusiasm for great public ends, but, sunk in apathy, prefers to "cultivate his garden." We might almost say that Dante is thinking of the ordinary unideaed Philistine, whom all social reformers and ardent spirits of every kind know to be least accessible to the enthusiasm of humanity. To a man like Dante, full of ideas and burning with social fervour, this class was naturally regarded as offering a more obstinate resistance to the triumph of righteousness than the avaricious, the intemperate or the incontinent. These err by the very intensity with which they seek an object that in itself is good. The production of wealth is not evil, except when the

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whole energy of the soul is concentrated upon it, to the exclusion of wider ends. And even when desire is thus limited, the active industry which it implies indirectly aids society. Nevertheless, the avaricious man is sinful, because his passion for wealth blinds him to the real end for which wealth exists. Intemperance, again, is excessive desire for physical well-being. The natural desire for the satisfaction of the bodily wants is not evil, but when that satisfaction is made the sole object it defeats its own end, and revenges itself in the diseases which intemperance brings in its train. Lastly, incontinence is the excess which leads to the abolition of that rational limit which society has embodied in the institution of the family. In characterizing the last two groups of sin as proceeding from defect or excess in pursuit of an object in itself good, Dante's formulæ are manifestly inadequate to the expression of his thought. He really conceals, under the Aristotelian Category of the "mean" the much deeper view, that all unspiritualized desire is in conflict with the essentially social nature of man. If we interpret his doctrine in this way, as indeed his concrete picture of the souls who represent these sins demands, we shall see that he is really carrying out his fundamental idea that all sin springs from Egoism, or the violation of the organic unity of society. Thus the indolent man fails to give his energy to the true end of man, the promotion of the social good, because he selfishly prefers his own ease and comfort; the avaricious man, by his narrow concentration on a single interest, loses sympathy for the wider interests which are essential to the complete life of man, and thus empties wealth of its ideal meaning as the means to higher ends; the intemperate man unfits himself for the proper discharge of his function in society; and the incontinent man strikes a blow at the sacred institution of the family. Of all this Dante is well aware, and even his conception of avarice, intemperance and incontinence as the excess of what in itself is good, shows how far removed he was from the ascetic view of the natural desires as essentially evil and therefore demanding extinction. Had he followed out the idea which he thus virtually affirms, that the natural desires are not to be annihilated but spiritualized, he would have been led to see that the monastic vows of poverty, celibacy and obedience are inconsistent with that social conception of life

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upon which his classification of the seven mortal sins rests; and that the distinction of the contemplative and the active life, as devoted respectively to the service of God and the service of man, is incompatible with his own express assertion that man may hate his neighbor but cannot hate God. This is one of the many instances in which the real thought of Dante carries him beyond the artificial distinctions which he borrowed from his scholastic teachers. At the same time we must not suppose for a moment that Dante had any consciousness that in ostensibly defending the medieval creed he was in reality building its sepulchre. The spirit of the modern world spoke through him, but it hid its transforming power in an obsolete vesture which he did not himself see to be ready to fall away. We can see that he was pouring new wine into old bottles, but he was himself all unconscious of what he was really doing.

So far we have dealt only with the abstract principle upon which Dante bases his classification of the seven deadly sins, and we must now see a little more clearly how, with this principle in his mind, he constructs his crowded gallery of living types of human character. The *Inferno* of Dante is a pictorial representation of the various forms of evil of which the human soul is capable. The principle of evil, at first hardly perceptible, gradually betrays its hideousness more and more explicitly, until at last it is revealed in all its horror as the absolute negation of God. This evil principle, as we must remember, is in fundamental contradiction to the principle of goodness, which constitutes the very essence of man as a rational being. So long therefore as it is operative, the sinner is in hell, because he cannot violate the very law of his nature without being in disharmony with himself. But, because the mainspring of all his conscious activity is the effort to find his true self in an egoistic isolation from others, he persists in his evil, and brings on himself the punishment of that 'unhappy consciousness" which is but the reflection of the contradiction between his true and his false self. The punishments of the *Inferno* are therefore symbols of the spiritual state of the unrepentant sinner, the recoil upon him of that law of society which is the law of his own nature. The soul that sins, and refuses to confess its sinfulness, must view the universe as in a conspiracy against it. This spiritual death is Hell, and

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this Hell is eternal, because it is based upon the eternal nature of man himself. It is of course true that Dante accepted the traditional doctrine of Hell as the eternal punishment in the future life of those who had died unrepentant, but we have his own authority for saying that his poem is also a picture of the state of souls in this life; and therefore we are not forcing an alien interpretation upon him when we thus regard his *Inferno* as a symbol of the inner state of the unrepentant sinner.

The *Inferno* opens with an allegory which, like other allegories in the poem, has been the "happy hunting-ground" of the textual critic. Dante finds himself in a wild and savage forest, having lost his way, but after struggling forward he sees a high mountain which is illuminated by the beams of the rising sun. His resolve to climb to its summit is frustrated first by a panther, then by a lion, and last of all by a wolf. Threatened with death he gives up his enterprise, when Virgil appears and tells him that he has been commissioned by Beatrice to guide him through the unseen world.

Of the main idea embodied in this allegory there can be no doubt. The wild and savage forest is the miserable state into which the world has been brought from the confusion of the papal and imperial power. In the *Paradiso* Dante draws a dark picture of the moral savagery and depravity of his contemporaries. "O covetousness, which dost so submerge mortals that none can raise his eyes above thy waves!.....Faith and innocence are found only in children, but they take flight ere the cheeks are covered with down.....The lisping babe loves and listens to his mother; when he has learnt to speak he longs to see her buried." And the reason is manifest enough: "Know that on earth there is none to rule, and therefore the human family has gone astray. (Par. 27, 121.)" On another occasion Dante begs the "soldier-saints" who appear in the sixth heaven to "pray for those on earth, who have gone astray from following evil example." Seeing clearly the source of the wickedness of his time, Dante sought to bring his fellow-men back to the true path by the ordinary channels, but the universal luxury, pride and avarice of the age frustrated all his efforts, and he must follow another path. He will unveil the unseen world to his fellow-men, guided by reason and revelation, typified respect-

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ively by Virgil and Beatrice. The former would indeed be of no avail without the latter, but combined they enable the poet to present the whole spiritual condition of men as it appears in the all-revealing light of the eternal world. Let us, then, follow Dante as Virgil "leads him into the secret things," and shows him "the sad people who have lost the good of the intellect."

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The University Library has again been enriched by the addition of valuable historical material relating to Canada and the United States. The heirs of the late C. Platt Treadwell, Sheriff of Prescott and Russell, have generously donated to the Library several important volumes from his collection. Among those of special interest are the Journals of the first session of the Senate and of the House of Representatives of the United States; The Acts passed by the first Congress and six volumes of the Laws of the U.S. to 1815, and two volumes of the Laws of the State of New York from 1778 to 1789; Also a copy of the Laws, Charters, etc. of Pennsylvania from the time of the granting of the original Patent to Penn by Charles II, in 1681 to the time of the establishment of the Federal Government in 1789 Most of these volumes contain very important matter relating to the early history of Canada.

Still more important, however, as material for Canadian history is the latest acquisition by the Library. This consists of a practically complete collection of the maps, papers, charters, special reports, etc., presented to the British Parliament and relating to the territory now included in the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador.

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CRITICAL NOTES.

PICTOR IGNOTUS.—BY ROBERT BROWNING.

On the arch where olives overhead
Print the blue sky with twig and leaf,
(That sharp-curled leaf which they never shed)
'Twixt the aloes, I used to lean in chief,
And mark through the winter afternoons,
By a gift God grants me now and then,
In the mild decline of those suns like moons,
Who walked in Florence, besides her men.

They might chirp and chatter, come and go
For pleasure or profit, her men alive—
My business was hardly with them, I trow,
But with empty cells of the human hive;
—With the chapter-room, the cloister-porch,
The church's apsis, aisle or nave,
Its crypt, one fingers along with a torch,
Its face set full for the sun to shave.

Wherever a fresco peels and drops,
Wherever an outline weakens and wanes
Till the latest life in the painting stops,
Stands One whom each fainter pulse-tick pains:
One, wistful each scrap should clutch the brick,
Each tinge not wholly escape the plaster,
—A lion who dies of an ass's kick,
The wronged great soul of an ancient Master.

—OLD PICTURES IN FLORENCE.

Browning has been wandering one of those "winter afternoons" amongst the cloisters of Florence and has noticed on the walls of one of them some sixteen century frescoes whose fading colour and weakened outlines announce an inevitable decay.

But even in their mouldering condition the poet, who is no mean judge, can see the evidence of great artistic power, the work of a soul that had felt deeply and had with the usual infinite amount of toil attained the power of genius to express itself. He consults local virtuosi and the works of antiquarians, but no one ventures to name an author. "Pictor Ignotus,"—Author Unknown, say the Guide-Books if they deign to notice the obscure frescoes at all.

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The artist's name then is not on the roll of fame. He has apparently never cared to paint canvasses for the public or decorate with his frescoes the halls of some great cardinal, but gone on quietly pouring out his soul on the dim aisles of his own cloister. Yet what a talent the man had! Little less, as Browning's discerning eye sees, than that of Raphael himself. In that waning colour and that half-obliterated outline there remains enough to show the touch of a gifted and delicate spirit, the impress of thoughts that 'wander through eternity.' Here is a problem after Browning's own heart, and as he paces these old streets of Florence, hardly altered since the time of Dante and Boccaccio—across the Mercato Vecchio, with its famous bronze boar, and round by the gray old church of San Michele where the sculptured St. George of Donatello still defies time and weather, and up to the Baptistery and its gates and the incomparable bell-tower of Giotto, he muses on the forgotten history of these obscure frescoes, and at last he divines it might have been this way:—

The unknown painter could have painted pictures great as Raphael's—"that youth's ye praise so." He had the gift and also the strength of will and nature to develop that gift.

> I could have painted pictures like that youth's
> Ye praise so. How my soul springs up! No bar
> Stayed me—ah, thought which saddens while it soothes!
> —Never did fate forbid me, star by star,
> To outburst on your night with all my gift
> Of fires from God: nor would my flesh have shrunk
> From seconding my soul.

He had felt, too, the fine intoxication of high ambition, that *last* infirmity of noble minds,

> Nor will I say I have not dreamed (how well!)
> Of going—I, in each new picture,—forth,
> As, making new hearts beat and bosoms swell,
> To Pope, or Kaiser, East, West, South, or North
> Bound for the calmly-satisfied great State,
> Or glad aspiring little borough it went,
> Flowers cast upon the car which bore the freight,
> Through old streets named afresh from the event,
> Till it reached home, where learned age should greet
> My face, and youth, the star not yet distinct
> Above his hair, lie learning at my feet!

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But nothing of all this happened. He lived and died an obscure monk adorning the walls of his cloister

> With the same series, Virgin, Babe and Saint,
> With the same cold calm beautiful regard,

and making no attempt to gain the eye and applause of the great world outside.—What had been the hindrance?

Well, this man—you can see it in the style of his work—had a fastidious delicacy which made him think it profanity to put his pictures on the market and expose his inward life to the vulgar uncomprehending gaze. He would not join that crowd of painters, great and small, who were jostling each other for the patronage of the great and the public applause. What a tribunal before which to carry the deepest thought, the most delicate feeling, the ultimate stroke of art! No! his pictures should never be the mere household garniture of some purse-proud Florentine, or the serenely held heirloom of some great Italian house, Della Rovere or Borghese, to be carelessly commented on by clients and followers in the ante-chamber.

> Glimpses of such sights
> Have scared me, like the revels through a door
> Of some strange house of idols at its rites!
> This world seemed not the world it was before.
> Mixed with any loving trusting ones, there trooped
> . . . . Who summoned those cold faces that begun
> To press on me and judge me? Though I stooped
> Shrinking, as from the soldiery a nun,
> They drew me forth, and spite of me . . . . . enough!
> These buy and sell our pictures, take and give,
> Count them for garniture and household-stuff,
> And where they live needs must our pictures live
> And see their faces, listen to their prate,
> Partakers of their daily pettiness,
> Discussed of,—"This I love, or this I hate,
> "This likes me more, and this affects me less!"
> Wherefore I choose my portion.

So he is content to paint a few frescoes on the cloister walls in the sanctuary's gloom and silence and to remain unknown to

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the profane world. Even his work he knows will in time disappear on those damp walls and nothing be left to tell of all he was and might have been.

> So die my pictures! surely, gently die!
> O youth, men praise so,*—holds their praise its worth?
> Blown harshly, keeps the trump its golden cry?
> Tastes sweet the water with such specks of earth?

But he is content; he has chosen.

Is this strength then, a strength beyond that of Raphael and Angelo who had not been so hindered? Not quite; because we know, as Browning knows, that Raphael and Angelo were men quick to feel the profanity of vulgar praise, but they represent a stronger instinct for creation, a larger philosophy of life, which enabled them to reconcile their antipathy and their desires.

After all the delicacy of the Pictor Ignotus was a fine kind of egotism. If the gift was given him, his duty was to do his best with it. What business had he to consider his own feeling as to its use? Its use is known to him who gave the gift. Man works but God makes use of the work.

There is the weakness. And yet this unknown forgotten soul has been tenderly and sympathetically judged, has he not? His weakness is recognized as an undeveloped form of virtue. He is the type of a certain kind of failure; but we do not jeer or even condemn; we judge with sympathy.

JAMES CAPPON.

*Raphael.

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BOOK REVIEWS.

Griechische Geschichte, von Julius Beloch, Strassburg. K. J. Trubner. 1893.

IN no department of study has the conventional treatemnt reigned to a greater degree than in the history of Greece. There has never been such a clearing of the atmosphere in this quarter, as Niebuhr effected in the domain of Roman history. A cloud of romance covers Greek history. The Greeks have been too little dealt with as ordinary men, and a large section of the current histories is a mere repetition of myths and legends subjected to no searching critcism or interpretation. The latest attempt in Germany to give a life-like account of the Greeks has been made by Dr. Julius Beloch in his Griechische Geschichte. It is strong, where most Greek histories are weak, on the literary side as well as on the critical. Its style is of the new "imperial" order with short crisp sentences, ringing out like rifle-shots, differing *toto coelo* from the lumbering and involved sentences of the preceding literary generation. In criticism he follows the lead of Grote, but pushes the critical treatment with far more consistency and thoroughness. The conclusions at which he arrives are sometimes so startling and so subversive of all previous views, that he would seem in his avoidance of the older opinions to take up with the paradoxical and the new, rather than the true. His views, however, are supported by such genuine learning and put with such force that even when they are most opposed to current opinion, they challenge reflection and deserve careful study. Some of the points on which Dr. Beloch differs from previous writers are the following: He denies that any reliable results are to be obtained from the endeavor to throw light on the early history of Greece by an investigation of its myths, legends and archæological discoveries. He furthermore rejects the story of the migrations of the tribes and a Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus as destitute of all historical basis, and refuses to believe in any early connection between the Greeks and Phœnicians, which was a first article of belief among the Greeks themselves, and among the latest authorities is regarded as proved by an increasing array of linguistic and archæological facts.

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According to Beloch the Mycenæan civilization and the Spartan institutions were of native growth. They were the outcome of the energies of the primitive Pelasgic race. No foreign influences were at work to bring about such movements.

The age of Pericles he maintains was not the culminating point of Athenian culture, nor was Pericles himself deserving of the preeminence which he has attained in the minds of modern historians. The age of Aristotle and Demosthenes, a century later than Pericles, he considered as the highest in civilization and humanity. The Sophists he further asserts to have been the great sources of ethical teaching, much more powerful in their influence on the public mind than the tragic poets with all the religious sanctions of tragedy and "infinitely higher than Socrates and his whole school."

From this brief statement may be inferred how sweeping is the character of the criticism to which Beloch subjects the whole range of Greek history on points which by the consensus of scholars have been regarded as fixed. Many of the positions he takes would seem to be prompted by a spirit of contradiction and dogmatism as strong and uncompromising as anything he finds in the writers he would controvert. The general effect, however, of his work will be of advantage in checking the tendency on the part of many scholars of the present day to explain all that is difficult and obscure in Greek origins by an earlier and more intimate connection with the civilizations of the East. It is against this tendency that Dr. Beloch's work is directed with a clearness and force that would carry conviction were there not at times so much apparent exaggeration. He is in fact too keen an advocate to be trustworthy as a guide.

So disposed is he to carry us too far with him, that he rouses a spirit of opposition in us, and by so doing he furnishes an antidote to his (historically) heretical notions. It is all very well, for instance, to vindicate the fair fame of the Sophists from the false charges to which they were subject. Grote did that. But what need is there for serious confutation when Beloch raises them on so lofty a pedestal of ethical attainment, as to look down upon the poets and philosophers, the hitherto accredited teachers of higher moral views among the Greeks of former days.

A. B. N.

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A Manual of Physico-Chemical Measurements. By Wilhelm Ostwald, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Leipzig. Translated by James Walker, D.Sc., Ph.D., Professor of Chemistry in University College, Dundee. Macmillan & Co., London.

Dr. Walker has already rendered a service to English readers by his translation of Professor Ostwald's *Lehrbuch der Allgemeinen Chemie;* and those who are acquainted with that translation will be ready to appreciate the excellence of the translator's work in the book before us. This *Manual of Physico-Chemical Measurements* is a guide to laboratory work in the domain common to physics and chemistry. The details for the construction and adjustment of apparatus and the directions for experimenting flow easily from the pen of Professor Ostwald. In his preface he tells us that the book was written with the intention, among others, 'of furthering the performance of physico-chemical measurements by other chemists and physicists;' and, indeed, such a result is more than likely to follow the perusal of these luminous and attractive pages. The author has small patience with the 'experimenters who have to resort to the mechanic for every trifle, because they cannot trust themselves to bore a hole or solder on a wire.' He confesses to having 'always taken a pleasure in "pottering" and making things for himself.' This confession gives the clue to the freedom with which he enters into the minutest details of construction and graduation of apparatus, much of which is quite new and special. This book takes its place beside Kohlrausch's classical volume on *Physical Measurements.* W. L. G.

The Epistle to the Romans (Expositor's Bible Series). By Rev. H. C. G. Moule, M.A., Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge. Willard Tract Depository, Toronto.

To all students of Holy Scripture, a good commentary on any part of the Bible is a great desideratum. Dr. Robertson Nicoll has laid the world under a debt of obligation by this splendid series of expositions on the different books of the Bible. As volume after volume issues from the press we are surprised at the uniform excellence of the series. And yet without disparaging any one volume we can unhesitatingly affirm that this last volume

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CURRENT EVENTS.

LORD Rosebery won his spurs at the Foreign Office, and that appears to be the department in which he is at his best. He quietly submitted to the snubbing which France and Germany combined to give him for negotiations with the Congo State to unite our South and East African possessions. Why go to war for "a wasp's waist" of land in Central Africa? But, if he has succeeded in establishing friendly relations with Russia, he has given both powers a tremendous Roland for their Oliver. To many it seems a reversal of British policy, and to Mr. Vambéry it is unthinkable. To an Austrian or an Hungarian, the first duty of Great Britain is to be on the watch against Russia; and Germany is always well willing to have it so, seeing that Austria-Hungary's welfare is bound up with her own hegemony. But what did those central powers do in the way of help in the Crimean war? And why should Britain any longer pull their chestnuts out of the fire? Whatever Russia may be in Europe, in Asia she is a great civilizing power; and it is in Asia that Britain's territory marches with hers. To suppose that it is impossible to have a good understanding with her there, is a theory based on the tradition that she is hungry for India, a tradition as true as the French proverb that if you scratch a Russian you find a Tartar. It is only necessary to scratch France to come upon the Tartar; and the bear is no worse than his neighbours. Carlyle had a high idea of the potentiality of the Russian people; and judging them by what they have done with the chaos of Central Asia, he was right. Even if the new understanding should lead to a Russian occupancy of Armenia, there would be no cause for alarm to "the balance of power" statesmen, while all Christendom might well chant a Te Deum. As to the final word of the Eastern question, "Who is to have Constantinople?" that concerns the Mediterranean powers and Austria-Hungary infinitely more than Britain. France is especially concerned, for she is toiling hard to turn the great inland sea into a French lake, and France may be allowed to settle the question with Russia, should Central Europe not dare to play a strong hand. Britain has now two roads to India and China, quite independent of the Mediterranean,—the old one by the Cape and the new one across Canada, and Lord Rosebery understands the significance of the latter, as a new factor in an old situation. He takes a wide view

LORD ROSEBERY AS FOREIGN MINISTER AND PREMIER.

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of the Empire, a view less coloured by moods and preconceptions than Dr. Goldwin Smith's.

ONE could wish that so strong a Foreign Minister promised equally well as a Premier. But, so far, he does not. He lost his chance at the outset, by not standing to his guns on the Home Rule muddle. His language about "the predominant partner" sent a thrill of joy all round the Empire. Here was Gladstone's successor taking ground on which all reasonable and patriotic opponents could stand with him. 'The Union between the two Islands has been decreed by nature, and the partnership is necessary to both. It follows that any fundamental change in the relationship should have the sanction of a majority from both. We Home Rulers have it now from the one, let us convince the other of our good faith, and we shall get its vote also.' Had the Premier maintained this statesmanlike position, what would have been the result? Either the anti-Parnellites would have rebelled and turned out the Ministry, at the same time destroying their own hopes for ever; or, they would have acquiesced, and then the Liberal-Unionists would have had the ground cut from beneath their feet, and in due time Ireland would have gained an autonomy not inconsistent with Imperial unity. But the Anti-Parnellites threatened, the party became alarmed, and Lord Rosebery, for the sake of the party, ate his words. Consequently, he has had to drift ever since, and the public now begin to ask whether he is a man or simply a new edition of Jekyll and Hyde; or a George IV, who—according to Thackeray—was a waistcoat, then another waistcoat, then another and then nothing; or 'seven Lord Roseberys,' all attractive but all equally unreal. Terrible are the sacrifices which are offered at the shrine of party. The idol demands, not like Juggernaut, poor strumous wretches or howling fanatics but the picked men of the nation, and it gets them.

DRIFTING with the stream, the Premier has brought himself up against the House of Lords and he hopes to find here ground on which his followers can unite, or at any rate ground that will divide them least. Instead of that, he has only introduced a new element of division. What else could be expected, when the Lords are more popular than at any other time within the last half-century and when he himself has no policy to propose? He is a Second Chamber man, and therefore is pledged not to destroy, until he is prepared with a substitute, but he thinks it quite consistent to propose that the Peers be deprived of all power. That is like saying to the nation, 'You must have soldiers and must pay for them,' and the next moment saying to a deputation

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from the Peace Society, 'We intend, you know, to arm them only with pop-guns.' It is almost incredible that he should be able to hold in his mind two contradictory propositions, yet we have only to put side by side his words at Glasgow and at Bradford, to see that it is so. At Glasgow, he said,—"I do not deny that that there are arguments for a single Chamber, but I am so absolutely convinced in my historical conscience that they are wrong that I, at any rate, could have no part or parcel in leaving this country to the sole disposition of a single Chamber." At Bradford, declaring his policy to be the taking away the power of the Lords to veto a decision of the House of Commons, he added significantly,—"The House of Lords, without the veto would be a State prison for a number of able and eminent men!"

AND how does he propose to get rid of the veto? By passing a party resolution in the House of Commons, with a majority of 12 or at the most of 30, in a House of six or seven hundred members! Surely, the next House—if it contains a Conservative majority—can expunge the Resolution, if it thinks it worth its while to do so. Any one, who has ever attended an ordinary convention knows how easy it is to pass Resolutions; but, as Moody once remarked, in his quaint, incisive way, "We don't read of the Resolutions, but of the Acts of the Apostles."

TWO elections have been held since, in districts traditionally Liberal, and in both his candidates have been defeated. These are trivial incidents in a campaign, he declares. That is a little like whistling to keep your courage up. There is no county in Scotland where the voters are more intelligent than Forfarshire or one where a change in the result is a surer indication of a change in the convictions of the people. This does not mean that Forfarshire is enamoured of the House of Lords. The question, which is so prominent in the Premier's speeches, had about as much influence on the county as the Pope's Bull had on the Comet. It means, however, that the new policy does not inspire, and therefore that Home Rule—and the other highly controversial proposals which have been added to float Home Rule—still make havoc with the once united and irresistible Liberal party. Prior to Mr. Gladstone's memorable change of front on the Irish question, the solid phalanx of Scottish members constituted the Old Guard of the party. It was not merely that, relative to their Conservative colleagues, they had somewhat like the present proportion of the Welsh contingent, about ten to one, but that with few exceptions they were backed by great popular majorities. A Scotchman was assumed to be a Liberal, and, though always open to con-

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viction, he never was convinced that there could be anything good in the Conservative party. During the past ten years, however, change has been slowly—for politics are too serious a matter to a Scotchman to be changed hastily—but surely taking place. It is not merely that the Conservatives have captured fully one-third of the representation, but that the Liberals hold many seats by small majorities; and that at the next election the nation may stand as Glasgow now stands, in the proportion of three to four, or possibly be equally divided. What has caused this extraordinary political change? Primarily, Home Rule. Mr. Gladstone's first bill did not commend itself to them, and his second, in the shape in which it left the House of Commons, was openly opposed by Dr. Wallace—his ablest Edinburgh supporter—and privately condemned by others who voted for it rather than break with their party, especially as they were sure that it would be rejected by the Lords. Secondarily, Disestablishment. That word does not excite popular enthusiasm in Scotland as it did in Ireland and does in Wales, simply because the Establishment—though shorn of much of its strength—does not represent an alien Church but the ancient history of the nation and the Reformation of Religion. The Scottish people believe in the Union with England, but they are reluctant to part with any distinctive emblem of their national life. They are as heartily Presbyterian, too, as ever they were. Therefore, as long as England has its national Church—and Disestablishment there has not yet come within the range of practical politics—they do not take kindly to the extinction of an institution which represents to them a past of which they are proud, and which is as little offensive to the other Churches as a privileged institution can possibly be to those which are not privileged. Lord Rosebery declares himself an Erastian, but justifies his proposal to disestablish the Church on the ground that the manses are now as a rule Tory agencies. That, at any rate, is the reason he gives "Why this question which might have slumbered has been forced to the front." It is doubtful if this plea will have much weight with the people. It is pretty well known that the manses organized not before but after the war had been declared, and that they are fighting now—not for their own interests which in any case are secure—but for a national ideal which has a charm for many of the highest natures and which has proved itself in the past more attractive to the Scottish heart than Voluntaryism or Erastianism. Disestablishment then will alienate voters in Scotland, and it cannot win any more in Wales. The Anglicans are likely to make a stiffer fight there than they ever did before, once the axe is actually laid at the foot of the tree, as it will be at the beginning of next Session, and it may be difficult to maintain, at the

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ensuing General Election, the proud proportion of ten to one, which drew from Mr. Gladstone his encomiums on "gallant little Wales."

ALL this must be perfectly plain to Lord Rosebery and to his *fidus Achates*, Lord Tweedmouth. On what then does he base his hopes of carrying the country? Apparently, on his foreign policy. He may possibly succeed, too, for the British democracy has no sympathy with the little England party, though much intent on securing social reforms and somewhat taken with the specious promises of Mr. Chamberlain. If the Russian Alliance is a reality; if it means that the war expenditure of India, which is so terrible a drain on the exchequer there, may be lessened; that Armenian atrocities are for ever to cease and determine, no matter how many of the vile renegades called Pashas, who are the disgrace of Turkish Administration, have to be cashiered or strung up, and no matter how distasteful to the Sublime Porte the guarantees for the future may be; and that an understanding can be arrived at for the settlement of the war between Japan and China, should Japan unfortunately allow herself to become intoxicated with victory;—then, Lord Rosebery has scored a victory for the greatest of British interests—which are the interests of humanity—which may tell not only on the Elections but on the future of the Empire. One is reluctant to believe that Lord Rosebery is only a brilliant time-server, or a man who took to politics for the same reason that he took to the turf.

THE reference to Japan must not be construed as meaning that the Sunrise Kingdom is going beyond its rights or that it is not entitled to the fruits of victory. Japan had legitimate grounds for war,* because it could defend its interests in no other way, and very properly it took care not to begin till thoroughly prepared. It succeeded, because it deserved to succeed, and China has been beaten, just as France was in the last Franco-Prussian war, because of national conceit and departmental corruption which could be cured in no other way—

THE WAR BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA.

> God's most perfect instrument,
> For working out a pure intent,
> Is man arrayed in mutual slaughter;
> Yes! Carnage is his daughter.

London Journals took sides against Japan at the outset, because

*See article in Blackwood for December, by an ex-Diplomatist, on the true causes of the war.

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China had proved herself a peaceful neighbour at every point where the great Empires meet, and some of them were inclined to hector the Japanese in their columns. The Kow-Shing affair gave them a grand chance for vapouring about "the flag", and they took as full advantage of it as if their native air had been that of Chicago or a point farther West. Not to speak of dailies, which have no time to inquire into particulars, even a weekly, usually so grave and judicial as The Spectator, is unable to see straight. The arrest of two Americans, in the harbour of Kobé, who were on their way to enter the Chinese Military Service, is cited by it as an illustration of Japanese "arrogance!" It seems that they were taken from a French steamer, in spite of the remonstrances of the French Consul! "We suppose," adds the Spectator, "if the steamer was within their waters"—it might be admitted that the harbor of Kobé is Japanese water—"they were in their legal right"—where then did the arrogance come in? "But the French are not likely to sit quiet under an act of violence, which recalls the Mason and Slidell incident." It might recall that incident to a Polonius, who could see that a cloud was very like a weasel or very like a whale. If the steamer conveying Mason and Slidell had entered Boston harbor, would England have uttered a whisper against their arrest or considered it an act of violence? Should the French go to war with Madagascar, it would not be prudent for Englishmen who thought of accepting service under the Hovas to journey to the Island via Brest or Reunion. They would be promptly arrested, and England would sit under "the act of violence" as quietly as France will sit under the act which took place at Kobé. A possible explanation of this style of writing in a high-class paper is the assumption, which the writers do not make explicit, that what Europeans may claim of right Orientals can claim only of courtesy. The success of Japan is likely to dispel that illusion, and it is pleasant to know that Britain and the United States have both renounced, in recent treaties, the principle of "extra-territorial" jurisdiction, and that henceforth their people, who travel in Japan, will be amenable to the laws of the land and subject to the native tribunals. Japan has been admitted within the circle of civilized nations, and its success in war shows that it has mastered the weapons of civilization.

SO far, too, Japan has acted within its belligerent rights. If China wants peace, it must ask for it, and ask too in the regular way, not by a customs official but by an Imperial High Commissioner representing the Emperor and the Foreign Office. It must also offer terms commensurate with its own necessities

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and the sacrifices of Japan; for instance, a heavy indemnity, the independence of Corea, and the cession, say, of the island of Formosa to the Island Kingdom. Only when reasonable terms are refused by the victors, will it be permissible for Europe to intervene. An understanding between Russia and Britain, in such circumstances, would be in the common interest and unaccompanied by any selfish gain to either power. Anarchy in China or a partition of China ought not to be tolerated. China must be allowed to reform itself, and the man who thinks it cannot or will not do so, or that it may be treated as a cypher or "neglectable quantity," because 70,000 disciplined troops gain victories over ill-led and ill-armed mobs, knows nothing of the history of China, and forgets that a score of policemen can disperse a crowd, consisting of thousands of brave men, in any city of Europe or America.

THE November elections in the United States resulted in a Republican victory as complete as the Democratic victory of 1890 or of 1892. The next Congress will be Republican, but the old members continue in the House till March, 1895, and the members who thereafter become legislators can do nothing towards executing the mandate they are supposed to have received, until March, 1897, the President's veto being a sufficient block. Then, by that time a new House may have been elected, of a totally different stripe! Surely such a case of "all action and no go" was never seen in any horse market in the world. It may be all right, for has not Mr. Gladstone praised the American Constitution, and the people who live under it do not grumble audibly, but it certainly would not suit us or anybody else who had been long accustomed to British freedom. It is fortunate that there is a kind Providence to care for our neighbours, since they cannot care for themselves, and an amendment to the Constitution is as much out of the range of practical politics as an amendment to the Gregorian Calendar would be. Of course, the explanation of the comparative indifference of the people is to be found in the fact that each State touches everyday life, in ways which are felt, much more than does the Central Government. The State deals not only with education, property and civil law, like the Province in Canada, but also with the election of Judges, with marriage and with criminal law. Congress is intrusted with the Currency, the Tariff, and the Army and Navy, including the grand army of pensioners, a million strong, but these are matters, which, though vital to the life of the nation, the ordinary citizen does not greatly concern himself with. He listens helplessly as Silver Bills

ELECTIONS AND OTHER THINGS IN THE UNITED STATES.

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and McKinley Bills are expounded to him, and he becomes the victim of the last speaker or the man who promises most fluently that money will be abundant and labour well paid. But he is quite capable of understanding a breach of faith, he dislikes being cheated, and he has a truly American contempt for inefficiency. It is no wonder, then, when he found that the Democrats did not govern, and when a Democratic President assured him that the Gorman Bill was a fraud, a contradiction of the party platform, and the triumph of the Sugar Trust, that he bolted or refused to vote. The Republican victory is, therefore, a sign of health in the body politic. It is a warning that party is not absolute and that dishonesty in public life does not pay; but it is no guarantee of a Republican victory in 1896.

AT a time when the United States Constitution—excellent as it was a century ago—is evidently not adequate to the needs of to-day, and when the numbers of the people and the complexity of their life make it so difficult to revise the Constitution, it might be supposed that one-eyed men would be able to see that Canada can render the best possible service to the great Republic by preserving its independence and working out the problems of popular government under different and more elastic forms. This is apart from the consideration that persons whose views are not limited to the United States ought also to be able to see that all the great political forces in the British Empire are making for consolidation, and that the word Separation is becoming as hateful as the word Secession ever was. Yet, it is at this time that Mr. Francis Wayland Glen writes to Canadians, asking them to give their views, through his paper, on the political union of the United States and Canada, and enclosing a resolution which "will be moved in both houses of Congress at an early day!" The resolution, after a long preamble, invites "the Canadian people to cast in their lot with their own continent!" Mr. Glen no doubt wishes to get contributions, *gratis*, for the Christmas issue of his paper, from "the leading thinkers of this continent," but it is a pity that he chooses a subject which is of mere academic interest and of which everybody is thoroughly tired. Invitations to write for the Christmas issues of all kinds of papers abound, but this is the most impudent chestnut of them all. The man who hopes to get a free contribution by offering to share with us the blessing of the Gorman Bill, and even to share the blessing of paying a hundred and forty millions of dollars annually in pensions, may be honest, but he is certainly destitute of humour. It would require a surgical operation to get a joke into the good man's head.

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THE leaders of the Canadian Government and of the Ontario Opposition have been removed from the high places which they occupied, the one by death and the other by well-deserved promotion to the Bench. In both cases, the country loses heavily. Their places were filled rapidly, and the old saw that no man is indispensable has in consequence been placidly quoted. Filled! Yes, but it does make a difference whether veins are filled with good or with poor blood, with pure gold or with indifferent ore. In the case of the Federal Government, there was no choice. Sir John Thompson towered in mental stature and in command of the House so completely above all his colleagues, that, unless they went outside of themselves for a leader, there was no principle to adopt but that of seniority; and Mr. Mackenzie Bowell has served so long an apprenticeship under a past master in the art of governing, as well as under two successors, that he may be trusted to steer the ship creditably, until a General Election decides whether the people of Canada continue to prefer the American policy of restriction, to the British policy of freedom, of trade. In the case of the Ontario Opposition, there was no choice, in a different sense of the phrase. Mr. Meredith's trusted lieutenants, Messrs. Wood and Clancy, had lost their seats, Mr. Clarke had retired from the House, Mr. Sheppard had not succeeded in gaining the right of entrance, and Mr. Whitney had alienated the Patrons, for whose "friendly neutrality" it seemed necessary to bid. As to Mr. O. A. Howland, for whom literary men hope a bright future, nothing is yet known of his fitness for Parliamentary work or party warfare. These were the circumstances in which Mr. Marter was made leader, and already nothing but the lack of some one to replace him prevents his deposition. Nothing quite so unblushing has happened in Canadian political life as his appeals to the electors of London to accept him as a Prohibition and Anti-Separate-School leader, with his instant repudiation of both planks, at a Toronto Ward meeting, as soon as the result of the by-election showed that they were planks not likely to be of use. Had his appeals to the lowest party spirit and the narrowest prejudices succeeded, every election thereafter would have been run on those issues, and a nice time of it we should have had in Canada. We owe much to the people of London, who kept their heads, and especially to those Conservatives who scorned to follow the new leader, even when they thought him sincere. The effort made to fan poor, dying embers into a flame, which might have burned down our house, was actually called Conservatism! It was simply party run mad. The game must be won, no matter what the risks to society or the State, or no matter what sacrifices of personal honour may be involved. Noth-

MR. MARTER'S VOLTE-FACE.

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ing is conserved, any more than at Monte Carlo or at a bonfire. Everything of value is destroyed, for when the people lose faith in the character of their public men, they will lie, cheat and steal in every rank of life. If this is what party comes to, we can see what a curse it must be. When wrong is done by an autocrat or an aristocracy, the people protest, the wrong-doers are ashamed, and morality is vindicated. But, when a party leader does wrong, his followers excuse, explain away or deny point-blank. The consciences of well-nigh half the population are blunted or vitiated. When the opposing party leaders are equally guilty, the other side is drugged in the same way. Evidently, the only hope of a country is in the people refusing to be enslaved by party bonds; refusing to attend party caucuses; separating municipal, Provincial and Federal issues, and considering any man an enemy who tries to confuse them; taking only those papers which treat public questions fairly; and bringing into public life only men who can be trusted. If men of that type are not to be had, then the country is not fit to be free. If Canada cannot supply them, it is useless to struggle for national existence. But they are to be had, even in New York; and though more than 100,000 voters sustained Tammany, in spite of the Lexow investigation, there were a few more voters on the other side. And though New York cannot boast a politician quite so frank as Mr. Marter, Canada is not yet as bad as New York. True Canadians must never despair, but must never lay down their arms.

SIR JOHN THOMPSON'S death has evoked a spontaneous outburst of feeling in Britain and Canada, which shows the unity of the Empire, the increasing importance of Canada as the most perfectly developed part of the Colonial section, and the recognition which is sure to be accorded to solid worth and unostentatious service. Sir John was a Judge rather than a Statesman, but whatever work was given him to do, he did with all his might and without trumpet-blowing. The Cabinet can stagger along without him, but the additions which have been made will serve only as foils to his shade. Had Mr. Osler been captured, it would have been far otherwise. But Mr. Osler, though opposed to the fad or fancy of Continental Protection, would hardly care to take his policy from Mr. Bowell or to sit with some of his colleagues.

THE Ministry has one strong card to play, and the Premier is entitled to play it for all it is worth, for to him belongs the honour of having brought about the Inter-Colonial Conference, when the British Government declined to take the necessary

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steps or indeed to make any move in the matter. Canada did not accomplish its unification, simply to "rest and be thankful." The basis of the union of the Provinces, from Atlantic to Pacific ,was that all alike were British, and a maritime front having been secured on two Oceans, Canada intends to make full use of her magnificent position and heritage. A great extension of trade with Australasia is possible, and by the time a cable has been laid there will probably be only one political Australia to deal with. That means the sweeping away of the present tariff walls between the parts, and thereby the disappearance of the great obstacle to Free Trade between the two wholes. Sister Colonies should be to each other commercially as sister States are to each other in the Republic to the South. Sir Richard Cartwright apparently still clings to Continental Protection. He demands a perfectly free hand for Canada in all her dealings with North American matters. A free hand! Yes, and when trouble arises, Britain is to pay the bill! How much would a free hand have been worth to us in the Behring Sea dispute, or in any others, with United States financial interests and lobbies on one side and Canada's unprotected rights on the other?

THE cable between Canada and Australia is a necessity, and Mr. Sandford Fleming has made out an unassailable case for its construction as a common work by the Australasian, Canadian and Imperial Governments. So far, all his estimates have been verified. Seven years ago, at the first Inter-Colonial Conference in London,in showing what the revenue would be, he estimated the probable annual increase of cabling. Notwithstanding the commercial depression in Australia, the business of the last seven years fully bears out his forecast. Seven months ago he estimated the cost; and the tenders recently received show that it can be laid, with a guarantee of three years' uninterrupted working, for more than a million dollars less than the estimate. The Conference said that a survey was first required. He said that it was not; and the Construction Companies all agree with his view. The data now point to the conclusion that the great work, if built under a joint-Government guarantee, would not cost the taxpayer a dollar; and the other results would be cheap cabling, increased business, comparative security in time of war, an unbroken chain binding the Empire together, with Canada occuping the central position, and possession of a property increasing in value annually, at much the same rate as the Suez Canal shares bought by the Imperial Government, have increased.

THE Patrons must drop finances and stick to business. Tariff reform, economy, and purity of administration are enough for the present, when—in the very teeth of a revenue inadequate to

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ordinary expenditure—local public works are dangled before constituencies, as the sure reward for voting the right ticket. The "Farmers' Sun" should not give space in its columns to correspondents who advocate inflation or unsound money in any shape, unless—like the Globe—it is prepared to show, editorially, the fallacies that underly all proposals alike. They all amount to this, that the sign is as good as the thing. Mr. Wells once had a picture of a baby being fed on milk tickets! It was unnecessary to explain what became of the baby. If you want a horse, you will scarcely be satisfied with the picture of a racer, even though it is stamped as issued by the Parliament of Canada! But custom makes such fools of men, that because they are in the habit of using paper money, they slide into the notion that the stamped paper is itself valuable. Hence in every generation the old craze reappears that Governments can make money. If they could, there would be no need of their contracting national debts or levying duties in order to get revenue, and they ought to supply every citizen with as much money as he required. There would then be a supply "equal to the wants of trade," as it is sometimes mildly put. But why should the Government take so much trouble? An Act of Parliament, declaring that every man's cheque must be accepted as legal tender, would be sufficient.

Some debtors take their stand on the hard fact that, when they contracted a debt of $1,000, they could pay it with one thousand bushels of wheat, whereas now they must raise two thousand. But, wheat might have doubled in price, and then they could have paid their debt with 500 bushels, and their creditors would have been perfectly satisfied. The price of some articles, camphor for instance, has increased twenty-fold in the same time. How badly off creditors in Formosa must be! Every one must take the hard with the soft, and understand that the man who kicks against the laws of nature kicks against the Eternal. A bull charging a railway train in motion is not wise.

The fate of parties who have fooled with the currency question in the States is instructive. The Populist movement had earnest men behind it, but they dallied with proposals for unsound money, and the West rejected them before they accomplished anything. Let the Patron leaders beware. On this point, they must be, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion, if they are to retain the confidence of the farmers of Canada. Even the proposal that the Government should do the banking of the country, and reap the profit of the business, is not to be tolerated. The Government has more to do already than it can handle. If it is to do our banking, why not also our mining, our shipping, our baking, and everything else?

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All business communications should be addressed to the Business Manager,

JAMES ROLLINS,
BOX A,
QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY,
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DANTE AND MEDIEVAL THOUGHT.

V.—HELL, PURGATORY AND PARADISE.

ON first entering the eternal world Dante finds himself upon a Dark Plain, lying like a broad ring around the mouth of Hell. Here he sees an innumerable host of people—indeed, he "could not believe that death had undone so many"—who, stung by hornets and wasps, rush blindly and furiously after a flag which moves and whirls with lightning-like rapidity. These are the "worthless souls," who are "hateful both to God and to his enemies, wretches who never were alive." Among them he recognizes "him who from cowardice made the great refusal."

It is worth while observing how Dante succeeds in suggesting that, even when there is a general resemblance in individuals of a given type, there yet are differences which constitute the specific character of each. Thus, in the present instance, among the indistinguishable crowd of spirits, who all agree in making "refusals," his eye detects him who made the "great refusal." Here, as he suggests, we see cowardice doing its perfect work. Most men are placed in circumstances which do not admit of anything heroic, but the spirit which animates them is in essence identical with that which is displayed by men who occupy a prominent place before the world. The general meaning of Dante in the picture he gives us of these cowardly souls cannot be doubtful. The source of all that is distinctive of man is strength of will, the resolution which issues in a fixed course of action. The man who has no will of his own, no general principle of

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action, is a slave to chance and circumstance. He cannot be trusted in any enterprise, and when a crisis comes he hesitates, vacillates, and becomes the victim of the first man who has a will stronger than his own. Dante had a definite instance of this moral cowardice before his mind in him who "made the great refusal," generally admitted to be Celestine V, who was persuaded to abdicate the papal chair by his successor Boniface. The greatness of the "refusal" lay in the abandonment of what to Dante seemed one of the greatest opportunities the world had ever seen; for had Celestine proved equal to the occasion, the Church might have been peacefully restored to its primitive simplicity. As it was, the opportunity was lost, and who knows what evils and suffering the world must undergo before the wolf of covetousness is chased back to hell by some saviour of the empire! Dante, however, was thinking also of these whose opportunities are not so great as that of Celestine; for all men of resolution, however humble their sphere, can at least aid those who have power and inclination to promote the public good. His own experience, however, had led him to the conclusion that the majority of men are untrustworthy, just because they have no independence of character. It is not so much that they are positively bad, as that they have no will of their own. Dante, like Plato, has a certain admiration for the great sinners, who might have been heroic in goodness; but for the weak, vacillating creatures who have no character he has nothing but contempt; "let us not speak of them, but look and pass." We are reminded of Carlyle's "thirty millions, mostly fools," and of Browning's

"—the sin I impute to each frustrate ghost
Is—the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin."

In a state of unconsciousness Dante is carried across the river Acheron, and the two pilgrims enter the first circle of Hell, which is peopled by unbaptized children and the noble Heathen. These are neither sad nor joyous, but experience a vague feeling of want and privation. It is only with the second circle that Hell properly begins. Dante emphazies the distinction. "Now begin the sorrowful notes to assail my ears: now I am come where much lamentation strikes upon me. I came into a place mute of all light, which bellows like the sun in a tempest when contrary winds war with each other. The hellish storm, which

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never rests, leads the spirits with its sweep: whirling and smiting it vexes them. When they arrive before the shattered rocks, then the shrieks, the moanings and the lamentations: then they blaspheme the divine power." This is the first of four circles in which the Incontinent are punished. It contains the carnal sinners who "subject reason to sensuous desire." Among the troop of spirits who are "blown with restless violence" through the dark air is Semiramis, "empress of many tongues," who "with the vice of luxury was so broken that she made lust and law alike in her decree." How different from this type of oriental sensuousness are Francesca and her lover, in whom passion assumes an ideal and romantic form! The special significance of Dante's treatment of this theme is the sympathy with which he depicts the nobler side of the relation, without allowing us to forget its contradiction of the eternal principle of goodness. In Provencal poetry and the Arthurian legends only the former aspect was presented. Dante was the first to combine the two. In this perfect episode the poet of the *Vita Nuova* and of the Divine Comedy meet. No ancient poet could have written the story of Francesca and Paolo, for the romantic side of love was the product of medieval chivalry and the Germanic reverence for women, influenced indirectly by the spirit of Christianity. On the other hand, while Dante condenses in this pathetic story whole libraries of romance, he informs it with the religious spirit which lifts it into the pure light of eternity. How simply and beautifully this is expressed in the words of Francesca:

Se fosse amico il Re dell' universo,
Noi pregheremmo lui per la tua pace.

(Were the King of the Universe our friend, we should pray to him for thy peace.)

The pathos of the situation is that the undying passion with which the lovers cling to each other is at once their consolation and their torment. The very self-effacement of passion shuts out repentance, and they cannot feel God to be their "friend." What can one say in the presence of such perfect work as this!

In the third circle Dante finds another class of the Incontinent, those who give way to intemperance. Blinded by the eternal hail, foul water and snow, they grovel on the ground, vainly turning one part of their naked body after another to shield them-

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selves from the castigation of the elements. That is to say, the selfish gratification of the appetites brings its own punishment with it in the shape of bodily pain and disease. As usual Dante gives us a picture of intemperance in its most attractive form, though he does not allow us to forget that it more usually presents itself in hideous and repulsive shapes. Poor Ciaco, whom he had often met in society, was a good, cheery soul, who was wont to set the table in a roar by his buffooneries and witticisms. Nor is he wanting in good sense, where others are concerned, especially when their vices have no power over himself; he sees clearly that the pride, envy and avarice of its leaders are dragging his native city to destruction.

The avaricious and the prodigal are punished in the fourth circle. These are coupled together because both employ wealth, not for the general good, but for their own selfish gratification. The avaricious hold tight by their money, the prodigal squander it recklessly. To both wealth is a burden, because they can never have enough. Hence they are represented in the endless and aimless toil of rolling heavy weights backward and forward. Each reproaches the other, and each undoes the other's work. For both all the higher meaning of human life is gone; the reform of society, the progress of science and art, the spread of religion, are to them nothing. Selfish absorption in one narrow interest has killed their sympathy for higher things.

These three types of character are all marked by selfish absorption in a single passion, but they do not imply conscious antagonism to others. In the fifth circle, however, we meet with the wrathful, who feel and exhibit an unnatural repulsion to their fellow-men. Of these there are two classes: the rancorous, who, immersed in a foul bog strike and maim each other; and the sullen, who are sunk in the muddy water, and mutter curses here as they did "in the sweet air gladdened by the sun." For them Dante has no pity. When, in one of these wretches, foul almost beyond recognition, he recognizes Philip Argenti, he exclaims: "Accursed spirit, remain in weeping and sorrow;" and Virgil, clasping Dante in his arms, says: "Spirit of noble wrath, blessed be she that bore thee!" And when at his request the miserable wretch is soused in the foul broth and set upon by others, Dante in recalling his shriek of agony says: "Even now

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I yield praise and thanks to God for it." Arrogant, ostentatious, inhuman, Philip Argenti is the incarnation of that malevolent disposition which is dead to all the kindly charities of life. His punishment is the recoil on himself of his own deeds. If Dante has no sentimental pity for this type of character, at least his indignation springs from tenderness for those who are its victims.

Between the sins so far considered and those next depicted, Dante takes particular pains to draw a marked distinction. He has now to enter the City of Dis, the special abode of Satan. As he waits for admittance the Furies call for Medusa to "turn him into enamel," and we are expressly invited to seek for the "doctrine which is hidden beneath the veil of the strange verses." The hidden doctrine seems to be, that the hearts of those who have deliberately said to themselves: 'Evil, be thou my good,' become as hard as enamel, and are therefore impenetrable to the claims of others.

The first class of sinners are the Heretics, who are imprisoned in red-hot tombs. The mode of punishment is of course suggested by the Church's punishment for heresy. To Dante's mind heresy involves the denial of human responsibility, and therefore it cuts at the root of all morality. From it springs a materialistic or Epicurean view of life. Farinata degli Uberti, Boccaccio tells us, "was of the opinion of Epicurus, that the soul dies with the body, and consequently maintained that human happiness consists in temporal pleasures." Frederick II., who is in the same tomb "with more than a thousand others," was an enemy of the Church, and, according to Villani, was "dissolute and voluptuous in many ways"; he was "addicted to all sensual delights and led an Epicurean life, taking no account of any other." Speculative disbelief, especially in the immortality of the soul, thus seems to Dante to destroy all the higher springs of action. Among other things it leads to faction, the arch-enemy of genuine patriotism. In his wonderful picture of Farinata, raising himself breast-high out of his fiery tomb, without betraying a trace of the suffering he was undergoing,—"as if," says Dante, "he held Hell in scorn"—we have a sublime picture of factious pride. Not even thirty-six years of punishment could quell this proud spirit. The interruption of Cavalcanti, and his pathetic grief for his son, leaves the proud Ghibelline chief abso-

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lutely unmoved. Yet Dante is too perfect an artist to make Farinata the mere impersonation of party-rancour. After the battle of Monteperto, "which died the Arbia red," he alone saved Florence from destruction. This, however, only seems to show how a man of noble instincts becomes the instrument of evil when he has chosen the path of theoretical and practical unbelief.

The seventh circle has three rounds. In the first are the violent against their neighbour. Tyrants like Ezzelino are immersed to the eye-brows in the river of blood; others, like Guy de Montfort, up to the throat, and still others with their head and breast above the horrid stream. In the second round are the self-murderers, changed into gnarled and twisted trees, and liable to be torn to pieces by hell-hounds. By these symbols Dante seeks to indicate the terrible self-torture which constitutes the mental state which leads to suicide. The blasphemers, i.e., those who deny divine providence, are punished in the third round. In the outermost verge of the seventh circle are the money-lenders and "speculators," whom Dante, in the usual medieval way, conceives as mere parasites who prey upon the wealth of the community without producing anything themselves. It was one of the principles of Canon Law that to receive interest was simply robbery, because the receiver gets more than he gave.*

The eight circle is devoted to the punishment of fraud in all its forms; here, in separate chasms or pits, are found seducers and panders, flatterers, Simonists, fortune-tellers, "boodlers," hypocrites, thieves, evil counsellors, schismatics and coiners. As we should expect Dante's indignation is especially strong against the Simonists. They have "made the house of God a den of thieves." Each is fixed in a narrow round hole, head downwards, as assassins were punished in those days, and the projecting soles of their feet are tormented with flames, which burn with an intensity proportioned to their guilt. At the very bottom of the chasm is Pope Nicholas the Third, who declares his own evil ways and that of his successors Boniface the Eighth and Clement the Fifth. Dante, who never loses an opportunity of enforcing his doctrine that the greedy ambition of the representatives of the Church is the source of all the evils of society, assails him with bitter irony: "Tell me how much gold our Lord required

* Bonar's Philosophy and Political Economy, p. 53.

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of St. Peter, when he put the Keys into his hand? Verily, he demanded of him naught but 'Follow me.'. . . . Therefore stay thou here, for thou art justly punished; and keep well the ill-got money, which against Charles made thee bold. And were it not that reverence for the great Keys thou heldest in the glad life yet hinders me, I should use still heavier words; for your avarice grieves the world, trampling on the good and raising up the wicked. . . . Ye have made a god of gold and silver; and wherein do ye differ from the idolater, save that he worships one, and ye a hundred?"

The "boodlers," who are appropriately sunk in a lake of pitch, he treats with contempt rather than indignation, and he even exhibits a sort of grim humour at the cleverness and trickery which is part of their character. As he looks from the top of the bridge which spans the eight chasm Dante sees the "evil counsellors," each "stolen" from view, wrapt in the flame of his own consciousness and tormented by its burning. Two of these flames enclose Ulysses and Diomed, who by the fraud of the wooden horse captured Troy and drove forth Æneas the founder of Rome. This explains why the "man of many wiles" is here punished. In the account given by Ulysses of his last expedition, Dante represents him as so overmastered by the desire to "gain experience of the world and of human vice and virtue," that neither filial, paternal nor conjugal love could restrain him from a new adventure. He resolved to sail to the west in search of new land. The little band who were still faithful to their leader were old and slow when they reached the pillars of Hercules, but by a judicious appeal to their love of virtue and knowledge, he persuaded them to set out in search of "the unpeopled world behind the Sun." After a long voyage the Mount of Purgatory appeared dimly in the distance; but soon their joy was turned to grief, for a tempest arose from the new land, and they were engulfed in the waters.

This narrative of Ulysses is interesting as showing the difference between the ancient, the medieval and the modern view of adventure. The Ulysses of Homer has none of that romantic spirit which Dante imputes to him. He displays heroism and endurance, but he has no love of adventure for its own sake. Dante's Ulysses is actuated by an irrepressible thirst for knowl-

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edge, which overmasters even his reverence for the good; and for this impiety he and his companions are punished. The same theme is treated by Tennyson, who represents Ulysses as moved solely by a romantic love of adventure.

When he enters the last circle of all, in which he finds the traitors, frozen fast in the ice, Dante's moral indignation is so intense and concentrated that he seems to lose all human feeling. For now he sees before him the representatives of the lowest depth of moral depravity,—those who have deliberately betrayed their country or their kindred. Walking over the ice he accidentally strikes with his foot the head of Bocca degli Abbati, who for gold betrayed his country. Dante seizes him by the hair, and, when he hears him named by another of the traitors, says: "Now accursed traitor! I do not want thee to speak; for to thy shame I will bear true tidings of thee." The same stern implacability is exhibited in his treatment of one of the traitors to his kindred. As the wretched man weeps, the bitter tears freeze as they flow. "For pity break the ice upon my face, that I may weep a little while, before my fount of tears freeze up again!" What is Dante's answer?

Ed io non glieli apersi:
E cortesia fu lui esser villano.

(And I did *not* open them: and to be rude to him was courtesy.) To Dante's mind pity for traitors was impiety. "Who is more wicked that he who pities the condemned of God?" (Inf. 20. 28.)

Before we leave this awful realm, and "rebehold the stars," it may be well to add one or two general remarks. As we have already seen, the standard by which Dante estimates moral guilt is not personal but social. This fact indicates at once his strength and his weakness. On the one hand, it is bound up with his whole conception of human conduct as right or wrong according as it conforms to an objective or authoritative standard. The individual must implicitly accept the creed of the Church and obey the law of the State; and deviation from either brings with it its own punishment. This explains the unsympathetic way in which Dante deals with such characters as Celestine V., Farinata degli Uberti and Mahomet. The first provokes his utter contempt because he shrank from the duty to which he had been called;

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the second is guilty of heresy and therefore of faction; the third is simply a "schismatic" or corruptor of the Christian faith. Now, in all this Dante is estimating the individual by a purely objective standard, without paying the least heed to the motives by which he is actuated. But such a method fails to do justice to the real complexity of the human soul, and to the progressive evolution of society. Because Celestine, a gentle pious monk, felt unequal to the task of guiding the Church in a dangerous crisis, Dante virtually says that he had no moral qualities whatever; forgetting that his shrinking from public office was a reflex of that "other-worldliness" which was Dante's own ideal of the saintly life. Similarly, no allowance is made for the noble qualities of Farinata, because he was guilty of heresy, and did not accept Dante's view of Church and State. And Mahomet, in defiance of historical fact, is treated simply as a "schismatic," a view that fails to take account of the necessary steps by which the human mind advances from lower to higher stages of truth, and of the purification of the national faith of which he was the instrument. The same defect is of course shown in Dante's conception of classical antiquity.

But, while we cannot accept Dante's purely external standard of judgment, we must not forget that his view points to a truth which Protestantism tends to overlook. The individual conscience can be set above objective institutions only when it contains in a higher form the principle which gives them meaning. There is no 'right divine' to judge wrong, any more than to govern wrong. The claim for freedom of conscience is really a claim in behalf of the higher rationality implied in it, and this claim must be able to justify itself by reason. Thus the duty of private judgment brings with it a deeper responsibility, and indeed this is its great practical value. So long as a man can fall back upon an authoritative guide, he cannot feel that it is his duty to determine his beliefs and conduct for himself; and it is for this reason that the great modern development in all departments of human activity has been the result of that liberation of the mind and conscience which it was the work of the Reformation and the Revival of Letters partially to accomplish. Dante himself, though in his explicit theory he appeals to an authoritative standard, yet practically re-interprets it for himself. The

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Church to which he appeals was not the Church as it actually existed, but an ideal Church, which was none the less ideal because he conceived it to have been actual in the past. Thus he was really affirming that society must be reconstructed on a rational basis if the highest good of man is to be secured.

There is another point to which it may be worth while to refer. If the individual soul is neither absolutely bad nor absolutely good, the conception upon which the Inferno rests, and indeed the division of mankind into the three separate classes of the sinful, the repentant and the saintly, is radically false. No man is either a devil or a god. In our rough and ready judgments we characterize men by some predominant tendency, but the human soul is too complex to be thus "cut in two with an axe." Thus, while we accept with thankfulness Dante's masterly presentation of the fruit of certain evil tendencies, when these are allowed to operate unchecked, we must remember that in actual life they do not operate unchecked. It is an abstract view which identifies the whole character of a man with one aspect of it. Dante, indeed, partly saves himself from this defect by the concreteness which is inseparable from the poetic imagination, but it leaves its trace in the emphasis and vividness with which he portrays some prominent feature of his personages. We have learned to be more charitable in our judgments than he, just because we have become more conscious of the complexity and intricacy of human motives. We have also learned to be less dogmatic in our views of society from a clearer recognition of the complex forces ever at work in it, forces which we can never completely estimate or set forth in our political theories.

As the Inferno gives us a picture of the spiritual condition of those whose will is evil, and who therefore fail to see that the unrest and disquiet they experience is the reflex of themselves; so the Purgatorio depicts the inner state of those who have been illuminated by the Christian consciousness of salvation as the reflex of a socialized will. To be in Purgatory is to condemn one's past self and begin the struggle towards the higher life. This idea is expressed symbolically by Dante, when he tells how Virgil begirt him with a "smooth reed." For "the reed lives where no other plant can live, because it yields to the castiga-

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tion of the waves." Humility under chastisement is the sign of repentance. All the pilgrims who wait for deliverance on the purgatorial Mount recognize, with Casella, that "the will of God is just." Evil they attribute to themselves, and though the struggle against their evil habits may be long and hard, they must at last triumph, having now consciously in them the principle of goodness. The Purgatorio is thus the genuine picture of the spiritual life as it actually exists, for that life is a process and not a completed result, though no doubt the process is itself a prophecy of the result. Dante also recognizes that the longer repentance is delayed, the harder it is to enter upon the new life. Yet it may be lightened by the loving aid of those who have already begun it. Manfred, who died in contumacy of Holy Church, must linger without the purifying terraces thirty times as long as he had continued in his presumption, unless the period is shortened by kindly prayers. The Christian life is thus recognized to be essentially social; the burden of guilt may be lessened by the loving aid of others. The good of one helps to lift up all. Dante also recognizes that the struggle with the past evil self decreases in intensity with each step gained. "The Mount is such, that at the start the climbing is always difficult, but the higher one goes the easier it becomes. When it seems to thee as pleasant as sailing down stream in a ship, the end of thy journey will have been reached." Just as in the Inferno the principle of evil reveals its antagonism to humanity more and more explicitly as we descend from circle to circle, so in the Purgatorio the triumph of the principle of goodness is more and more clearly revealed as we ascend from terrace to terrace.

The escape from the dark and sorrowful region of Hell into "the second realm where the human spirit is purified" is beautifully expressed. "A sweet hue of oriental sapphire . . . brought delight to my eyes, so soon as I issued from the dead air, which had saddened both my eyes and heart." As the dawn disperses the shades of early morning, the two pilgrims see afar "it tremolar di marina (the trembling of the sea)." Over the waves comes swiftly a little boat, containing spirits who chant the psalm of deliverance from sin: "When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language." We may note that all through the Purgatorio Dante has in his

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mind the rites and ceremonies of the Church—its praise, prayer, painting and sculpture, and the symbols of Christian initiation and fellowship—as modes in which the penitent aid and encourage one another in the upward path.

The first terrace, which is without Purgatory proper, is occupied by those who delayed repentance to the last moments. Among others Dante meets Sordello, the "proud Lombard soul," who "uttered not a word, but eyed us like a couched lion." But when he heard that Virgil was from his native city of Mantua, he sprang towards him with the exclamation: "I am Sordello of thy land." Dante's patriotism bursts out in his noble apostrophe to Italy: "This noble spirit was ready, only for the sweet sound of his country's name, to greet his fellow-citizen joyfully; in thee, thy living men, whom one wall and one moat shuts in, gnaw one another. Search, miserable one, all along thy coasts, then look into thy heart and see if any part of thee has the joy of peace. Of what avail is it, that Justinian fitted on thy bridle, if the saddle is empty? Without that, the shame were less." Dante returns to the same theme again when he enters the beautiful Vale of the Princes, calling upon secular potentates to recognize the divinely-appointed equality of the Empire with the Church. As the sun goes down one of the spirits devoutly leads the chant, *Te lucis ante.*

'Twas now the hour that brings to men at sea,
  Who in the morn have bid sweet friends farewell,
Fond thoughts and longing back with them to be;
  And thrills the pilgrim with a tender spell
Of love, if haply, now upon his way,
  He faintly hear a chime from some far bell,
That seems to mourn the dying of the day;
  When I forbore my listening faculty
To mark one spirit uprisen amid the band
  Who joined both palms and lifted them on high
(First having claimed attention with his hand)
  And toward the Orient bent so fixed an eye
As 'twere he said, 'My God! on thee alone
  My longing rests." Then from his lips there came
'Te lucis ante,' so devout of tone,
  So sweet, my mind was ravished with the same;

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The others next, full sweetly and devout,
Fixing their gaze on the supernal wheels,
Followed him chanting the whole Psalm throughout.

As once before Dante calls on us to pierce the "subtle veil" of his verse. He seems to mean that the repentant soul is at first liable to the recurrence of past temptation, but by humble prayer is enabled to resist it. Temptation is symbolized by the serpent which steals into the valley at night-fall. As it appears there is a flash of angel-wings, and the enemy has vanished.

The penitential stairs leading up to the gate of Purgatory are symbolic of confession, contrition and satisfaction. The individual sees himself as he really is, renounces his old self, and begins the new life. On the first terrace the soul is purified from pride. The spirits recognize that absolute self-assertion weighs down the soul with the weight of the whole world. Hence they are represented as bent like corbels to the earth. Their repentance and thankfulness are expressed in the *Te Deum laudamus*. The souls who have been guilty of envy occupy the next terrace. Their eyelids are sewed with an iron thread, to indicate the blinding effect of envy, but, as they enter the stairway to the next terrace, leaning lovingly on each other, they hear the beatitude: "Blessed are the merciful." On the third terrace are the wrathful, enveloped in a thick smoke, symbolic of their former state of mind. As they reach the stairway a voice proclaims: "Blessed are the peace-makers." In successive terraces the sins of Indifference, Avarice, Intemperance and Incontinence are expiated. At the top of the Mount is the Terrestrial Paradise, *i.e.*, the visible Church, as the embodiment of the ideal of humanity on earth. In an allegorical pageant of a very elaborate kind Dante gives us his philosophy of history, but it adds nothing to what he elsewhere says and is hardly worthy of analysis. History can only be expressed poetically in concrete pictures. All attempts to embody it in symbols like this of Dante, or of Goethe in the second part of Faust, result in obscurity and mystification, which can give comfort only to the ingenious commentator. To those who go to poetry for ideal pictures of life this frigid symbolism, as Matthew Arnold says of the verses of Wordsworth in which his inspiration fails, produce "an unutterable sense of lamentation, and mourning, and woe."

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The termination of the process of purification is symbolized by the cleansing of Lethe, the river of forgetfulness. The struggle is over, and the soul enters with joy on the higher Christian life.

In the Inferno the soul is turned towards self; in the Purgatorio the soul is turned towards God, but the influence of the old life is still strong; in the Paradiso the soul is turned entirely towards God, and knows no other will but His.

In la sua volontade e nostra pace.

(In His will is our peace.) There are various degrees of saintliness, from the timid, shrinking service of a Piccarda to the consuming zeal of a St. Francis, but one spirit of self-forgetting love glows in every breast. The intellect is enlightened, the heart suffused with love, the whole being filled with joy:

Il ciel, ch' e pura luce;
Luce intellectual piena d' amore;
Amor de vero ben pien di letizia:
Letizia, che trascendi ogni dolore.

(Heaven, which is pure light; Light intellectual full of love; Love of true good full of joy; Joy which transcends all sorrow.) All rejoice in the service of each:

Ecco chi cresera li nostri amori.

(See one who will increase our mutual love.)

The principle on which Dante arranges his types of Christian character is to begin with the less developed and gradually to ascend to what he regards as the most developed. Hence, just as the weak and irresolute occupy the vestibule of the Inferno; just as at the base of the Purgatorial Mount linger those who have repented only at the close of life; so the first sphere of the Moon contains those pious but soft and gentle souls who have not energy enough to withstand the stronger will of others. The mild radiance of their character is represented by the faint dream-like faces which Dante at first takes for reflections. Their defect is want of independence of character; and therefore, though their will is good, their service is inadequate. They are not of the metal of which martyrs are made.

Higher than these soft and yielding characters are those who throw themselves with energy into the cause of humanity, but not without a certain degree of personal ambition. Among them Dante finds the Emperor Justinian, who gives a condensed

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history of the Roman Empire, showing that it was the divinely appointed means of securing justice among men. Dante, in fact, takes the spirits who appear in Mercury as the type of those who are distinguished by their love of Justice, but are not quite free from "the last infirmity of noble minds."

As the distinctive character of those who appear in the sphere of Mercury is love of Justice, so in Venus are found those who display the virtue of natural affection as illuminated by Christian principle. In them love is exhibited in its Christian form, as in Francesca and Paolo we have love degraded by an element of sensuous passion. But, because it is limited in its range, Dante regards this form of love as on a much lower level than such a love as that of St. Francis, which is widened to the universality of humanity. It includes the love of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, and the love of friends.

In the next heaven appear those who are distinguished by a divine wisdom. These dazzling spirits blaze in the sphere of the Sun, the light of which is so intense that it "conquers all colour." Dante's catholic spirit is shown by the equal sympathy which he shows for St. Francis and St. Dominic. To indicate the absence of all jealousy between these great souls the praise of St. Francis is put into the mouth of St. Thomas, a Dominican, while St. Dominic is celebrated by the Franciscan St. Bonaventura. The lives of these two great leaders of men are told with Dante's usual terseness and completeness. Seraphic in his ardour, St. Francis in his early manhood renounced the pleasures of the world and vowed himself to Poverty, a Lady who had been unwooed from the time, more than eleven hundred years before, when she had been bereaved of her first spouse, Christ. The venerable Bernard, moved by his example, "unshod himself;" then Sylvester and Egidius followed the bridegroom, so lovely was the bride. Begirt with the cord of humility St. Francis and his followers went on their way, indifferent to the sneers of the world, and were recognized as preachers by Pope Innocent III. "When the poor humble folk had increased, following him whose wondrous life could only be duly chanted in the glory of heaven," the order of St. Francis was formally established by Honorius III. St. Francis joined the crusading army before Damietta, and in his zeal for martyrdom preached

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Christ in the presence of the proud Sultan; but, finding the Saracens too unripe for conversion, he returned to his native land. Here, at Monte Averno, he received from heaven the "last seal" of the stigmata, and in dying commended his "dearest lady" to his followers. Alas! the disorder of the world is shown here too. "His flock have grown greedy for new food. . . . Some indeed hold fast to the shepherd, but so few they are that a little cloth serves for their cowls."

When St. Thomas has ceased speaking, St. Bonaventura relates the life of that "splendour of cherubic light," St. Dominic. "Meet it is that both should be named, for as they served in one warfare, so their glory should shine together." In Spain was born "the amorous fere of the Christian faith, the holy athlete, benign to his friends and stern to his foes." He was the husbandman of the church, appointed to cut off the decayed leaves from the vine. All his energies were devoted to the restoration of the pure faith as it fell from the lips of the Master. *He* did not beg from Boniface "the next vacancy," but only prayed for leave to fight against the corruption of that faith which his followers have perverted or obscured.

In the heaven of Mars, Dante sees a flaming cross, composed of myriads of rubies. These are the souls of those who were inspired by a sacred Courage,—the martyrs and confessors, the crusaders, champions and combatants for Christ. Among them is Cacciaguida, Dante's crusading ancestor, who paints the prosperity of early Florence, when it was as yet uncontaminated by avarice, pride and luxury, and prophecies the exile of his descendant. "Thou shalt leave all that is most dearly loved: this is the arrow which the bow of exile first discharges. Thou shalt experience how salt tastes the bread of another, and how bitter it is to go up and down another's stairs."

In the next heaven of Jupiter troops of spirits spell out by their mazy movements the words "Love Justice, ye who rule the earth," and settle into the form of an immense eagle, the symbol of the Holy Roman Empire, and of the brotherhood of man.

In the sphere of Saturn a golden ladder reaches up to Heaven, on which are flames ascending and descending. Here are the comtemplative souls, among them St. Peter Damian and St. Benedict, the former of whom inveighs against the luxury of

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modern prelates, while the latter complains of the corruption of the monastic orders.

In the heaven of the Fixed Stars Dante beholds the Triumph of Christ, and in the ninth sphere of the Primum Mobile he is examined by St. Peter, St. James and St. John in the three theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Love. His noble indignation against the corruption of the Church breaks out even here. The face of St. Peter flames with the redness of sunset when he speaks of Boniface, who had got his place in the Holy See by a sort of simony.

"He who usurps on earth below my place,
My place, my place, the which is void and empty
Before the presence of the Son of God,
Hath made my holy sepulchre a sink
Of blood and stench; whence comes it that the rebel
Who fell from hence is glad in hell and triumphs.

At last Dante enters Paradise itself. First he sees a river of light:

"And I saw light in semblance of a river
Tawny with splendours in the midst of shores
Painted with blossoms of a wondrous spring.
Forth from this stream there issued living sparks;
And on all sides they mingled with the flowers,
Like rubies that smooth bands of gold environ.
Then, as though drunken with the fragrances,
They plunged again into the marvellous tide;
And as one sank another issued forth."

Then the river changes into the form of the mystic Rose, expanding leaf over leaf towards God who is its sun. The rose-leaves are the orders of the blest.

"Their faces had they all of living flame,
Their wings of gold, and all the rest was white,
That snow is none such purity could claim. (Par. 31, 3.)

Even here Dante has not forgotten his divine contempt for his native city: "I who had passed from the human to the divine, from time to eternity, and *from Florence to a people just and sane.*" Now Beatrice, the symbol of Theology, assumes her seat among the blest, and St. Bernard, the representative of mystic love, takes his hand and utters the beautiful prayer to the Virgin

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Mother, already quoted. Then, for an instant, Dante has the beatific vision of the Holy Trinity:

> "And now my every task, my every will,
> Like to a wheel moved all ways in like wise,
> Obeyed the Love that moves the Sun and Stars."

Thus ends the Vision of the great Poet of the Middle Ages. By the use simply of light, music and mysticism he communicates to us a miraculous elevation of feeling, making us feel the wonder and the glory of the Christian life of love and goodness.

When we come to reflect upon the content of the Paradise of Dante, what strikes us more even than the splendor of its imagery is its intensely human and practical character. It is the picture of an ideal Society, in which the various gifts of each are brought to the service of the whole. There is no jealousy, no taint of envy, but each rejoices in the noble service of his brothers and sisters. No doubt Dante's conception of Society is inadequate, when it is contrasted with the freer and more various activity of the modern world; but contemplated in its spirit, it is singularly comprehensive and many-sided. The gentle ministration of woman; the fire and energy of the soldier; the self-sacrificing zeal of the social reformer; the devotion of the lover of truth; the heroism of the patriot; the large sagacity of the statesman; the comprehensive insight of the philosopher; the swift intuitions of genius;—all these are blended and harmonized in Dante's conception of life. Like all the best minds of our race, Dante is a thorough optimist, and not least so when he is most conscious of the evil of Society as it is. His moral indignation is rooted in love; his contempt is large and divine. It is man's nature, as he tells us, to seek by an inherent impulse after God and goodness, and his search cannot ultimately be in vain. But to justify his optimism we must view the history of our race from a wider point of view than was possible for him. The highest life of woman we can no longer believe to consist in a demission of her sacred function as wife, mother, sister and companion of man. The weakness which Dante finds in the gentle saints of his lowest heaven is inseparable from the medieval conception of woman's station and duties; nor can I believe that it is in the highest interests of society that women, who already exercise on the whole a beneficial influence on legislation, should be permanently excluded

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from the rights and duties of citizenship. Dante's view of natural love as a preparation for the wider forms of sociality we can accept without reservation; and if we interpret the devotion of a St. Francis, and the zeal for truth of a St. Dominic, as symbols of the disinterested enthusiasm of the reformer and truth-seeker, we can endorse the high place he gives to these benefactors of the race. But such a widening of the medieval ideal is absolutely necessary. The "brass-collar methods," of which Carlyle speaks, are as inapplicable to the mind of man as to his body, and their day is past. Science and philosophy demand absolute freedom, and without it they cannot do their perfect work. And lastly, the true modern mystics are the men of genius, whether in the sphere of reflection or of art, who provide a new organ for the human spirit, revealing possibilities in the life of humanity previously only vaguely felt. Such a mystic was Dante himself. In unveiling the whole soul of the Middle Ages he prepared the way for a new phase in the onward march of humanity. For us if not for himself he gives a true picture of the spirit of man in its greatness and its weakness; and he must be incapable of catching the contagion of a great soul who comes away from him without an enlarged feeling of the dignity and the solemnity of human life. I cannot conclude my very inadequate study of this great singer better than in the words of one to whom I owe so much. "The *Divina Commedia*," says Professor Caird, "may be compared to the portal of a great cathedral, through which we emerge from the dim religious light of the Middle Ages into the open day of the modern world, but emerge with the imperishable memory of those harmonies of form and colour on which we have been gazing and with the organ notes that lifted our soul to heaven still sounding in our ears."*

*Edward Caird's Essays in Literature and Philosophy, Vol. I p. 53.

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THE HISTORY OF CANADA

BY WILLIAM KINGSFORD, LL.D., F.R.S. CANADA.

VOL. VII (1779-1807.)

THE seventh volume of Dr. Kingsford's History of Canada has appeared, and will, no doubt, be readily picked up by the reading public. His several volumes have followed one another perhaps more rapidly than might have been expected, but Dr. Kingsford is evidently a very diligent, and withal a very accurate worker, and he has carefully consulted his authorities. Where he shows haste is in the absence of method, and of imagination—that imagination which pictures the political and social bearing of events, and gives them life and interest, and which is only the fruit of severe study of all the events, and of all their relations. Dr. Kingsford's work is a valuable history, such a history as is only now become possible from a study of the large collection of archives which Dr. Bremner has brought together from England, France, and Spain; and when in after years the history of Canada may be rewritten Dr. Kingsford's pages must be largely consulted. This volume covers the period from 1779 to 1807, the closing years of the War of Independence, with the Peace of Paris, which fixed the international boundaries between Canada and the United States. On the same day, September 3rd, 1783, were signed at Versailles the treaties with France and Spain, and the day previous the preliminary articles of peace between England and the States General of the United Provinces. In 1781 England saw the fall of the North ministry, to be followed by the second Rockingham ministry, the Shelburne ministry, the coalition ministry of North and Fox, and the ministry of Pitt. In 1789 the French Revolution broke out, and 1793 war between France and England was renewed. It will be difficult to find a period so replete with important events as the period covered by this volume, and with all Canada had a more or less close connection, and Dr. Kingsford is justified in saying that it

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is quite impossible to separate the history of Canada not only from the history of the neighbouring republic, but from that of many of the complications in Europe.

In November, 1765, before the War of Independence broke out, Congress appointed a committee of five members to treat with France and Spain, for the purpose of finding out what assistance might be expected from these governments in case the States should declare war against England. The early negotiations were so promising that Franklin and Arthur Lee were sent to Europe to conclude a treaty with those powers, receiving the promise of material aid. The object of France was to reacquire possession of Canada, and there can be no doubt that not only in the initiatory negotiations, but repeatedly at a later date the States government encouraged this hope, and its emissaries in Canada were diligent in presenting this object to the *habitants*, for the purpose of stirring up a rebellion against Britain; but at the very same time the States were resolved that the French should not succeed in this project. They felt, that if they should not themselves succeed in gaining Canada, it were better that it should remain in the hands of Britain than pass again to France. The double part which was being played by the States at this period can scarcely be excused by the peculiar position in which they were placed, or by the lower national morality which marked the close of the last century. Spain also had in view the securing, or even the extending, her possessions in America, and the wresting of Gibraltar from England, while the forces of this country were engaged in America. France especially threw herself with some vigour into the war; her fleets were everywhere on the Atlantic intercepting British commerce, or watching the American coasts, and landing troops where they would prove most advantageous. French troops led by such generals as de Lafayette, de Rochambeau, de Barras, and de St. Simon were present in almost every engagement of importance, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the soldiers of the States. Lafayette had 8000 French troops at Yorktown when Cornwallis capitulated, while an immense French fleet was blockading the town from the side of the Chesapeake.

After the campaign of 1775 and 1776 under Montgomery and Arnold there was no attempt to invade Canada, if we ex-

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cept some slight movements at Lake Champlain, at Oswego, and Detroit. The English population was still very limited, and there were only 3353 British troops under Haldimand, scattered from Quebec west, at Three Rivers, Montreal, Carleton Island, Oswego, Niagara and Detroit; but any appeal which the States made to the English population had been treated with contempt, and any support of the movement in the States could only have been looked for from the French Canadians. These have always shown themselves to be an amiable, quiet, and contented people, yet liable to be moved from without. Their condition during the short period of English rule had passed through several changes. After the Peace of Paris they had been for a short time under military rule, this was succeeded by the introduction of English Representative Government, and the administration of English law. This, however, was so utterly unsuited to the condition in which Canada then was that it naturally caused dissatisfaction among the bulk of the population. By the Quebec Act of 1775 the British Government rescinded its previous Acts, restored the French law of civil procedure, with the legalization of the French language, while it gave full force to the rights of the Romish Church, but it maintained the English criminal law. The government of the country was placed in the hands of a Governor and Council, somewhat similar to what had existed under the French regime. This change with its concessions gave satisfaction to the French population, which was very much the larger portion, and we have no hesitation in saying that under the circumstances it was the wisest act the British Government could have done. Nevertheless a system of government so essentially different from the principles of the English constitution could scarcely be expected to *run* without some degree of friction. The English population, though very limited, thought that they were too little considered; they were Protestants, and viewed with dissatisfaction the establishment of Romanism; they were proud of their English language, of their English laws, of the English system of Representative Government, and they thought that England had yielded too much to the prejudice of a conquered people. The Congress of the States did not allow this condition of things to pass without seeking to make political capital out of it; it was voted that the act of the British Government

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"was subversive of the rights of man, that she had instituted a veritable tyranny, civil and political, in Canada, in legalising a religion which had inundated England with blood, and spread hypocrisy, persecution, murder and revolt in all parts of the world." But though the English population was dissatisfied it showed no sympathy with the revolt of the American colonies, while, on the other hand, the French Canadians evinced a loyalty equally firm. They resisted all the inducements offered at the time of the invasion under Montgomery. At a later period, however, some disaffection began to show itself, and Congress having failed with the English population, redoubled its efforts to secure the French. The defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga had very much shaken the prestige of the English power, and the success of the French forces both by sea and land gave hope of the re-conquest of Canada. The little sympathy which the French Canadians had received from their English fellow-citizens had undoubtedly tended to alienate them from British rule. Haldimand, who had succeeded Sir Guy Carleton, had not Carleton's personal attractions; he had been obliged to curb the freedom of a part of the French press, and even imprisoned the editor of a Journal bearing the title "Tant Pis—Tant Mieux;" his rule at Three Rivers, which was perhaps the centre of any disaffection, was regarded as harsh. When he became Governor Canada was in a very peculiar position; in 1798 the crops had been small all over the continent, and even in Europe, and the price of corn rose, and as the demand in the States was large there was a strong inducement to export from even the limited store in Canada, and Haldimand was obliged to prohibit the exportation of corn, and this was calculated the more to produce ill-will among the French Canadians, who were almost exclusively of the farmer class. This was the state of matters when Lafayette circulated his letter to the Indians, which was intended to re-awaken the old attachment to the French, and their opposition to the English, and at the same time d'Estaing issued his proclamation addressed purely to French feeling. It mysteriously appeared on the doors of parish churches, and found its way into almost every household. Haldimand wrote to Lord St. Germaine, "however sensible I am of the good conduct of the clergy in general during the invasion of the province in the year 1775, I am well aware that

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since France was known to take part in the contest, and since the address of Count d'Estaing, and a letter of Monsieur de Lafayette to the Canadians and Indians have been circulated in the provinces, many of the priests have changed their opinions, and in case of another invasion would, I am afraid, adopt another system of conduct."

That some should, in the adverse condition of the province, have yielded to seductive appeals, and should have shown a spirit somewhat hostile to the British Government is not to be wondered at, but that this disaffection should have been so limited as it was is very remarkable, and shows the wisdom of the Quebec Act. That this loyalty was due in a large measure to the influence of the priesthood cannot be doubted, and we owe to the French people, and especially the French priesthood, a debt of gratitude which ought not to be forgotten. It is not difficult to see what would have been the result if with a small English population, and an army of 3000 men scattered from Quebec to Detroit, the French population had shown any general disposition to take up arms in aid of the States. The French naval force on the Atlantic coast was very large, and their land force could not have been less than 20,000 men, and the addresses of Lafayette and d'Estaing show us that they needed only the slightest encouragement to invade Canada. Haldimand's position was one of great difficulty: the country was threatened with an invasion, while her population was divided in sentiment, yet he was not allowed liberty of action, for the Home Government, with strangely short-sighted policy, was trying to rule from Downing street a colony 3000 miles off, with which intercourse was difficult, and with whose condition the Cabinet was entirely ignorant. Germaine was a weak member of a weak ministry, entirely truculent to the will of an arbitrary king, and his letters in reply to Haldimand's urgent requests for reinforcements were evidently written to be submitted to the king, who never could be brought to understand the state of affairs in America, and who never allowed himself to believe that the British troops could suffer reverses, even though they were a mere handful pitted against superior numbers, against brave, and enthusiastic, and even fanatical opponents.

In 1781 negotiations for peace had been entered on, but

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neither England nor the States could come to any agreement, and only after the capitulation of Cornwallis was it evident that all parties had become tired of the war. England had suffered some severe defeats, and her fleets had been deplorably mismanaged. She had fighting also to do in the West Indies, on the Mediterranean, and in India. France and Spain too were quite exhausted; Spain had suffered a severe defeat before Gibraltar, and though France had been tolerably successful on the Atlantic, and in America, yet she had lost nearly all her eastern possessions. The treasury of either country was almost depleted, and it was difficult to levy new taxes from an impoverished people, while in France especially there was great distress, and already might have been heard the rumbling of that great convulsion, which only seven years after disturbed not only France but the whole of Europe. The States had put forth their utmost effort, and had it not been for the subsidies which they had received from France must have yielded long before. At the time of the negotiations in May 1781 Franklin had gone over to Paris to find out the wishes of the French Government. In a letter written in the autumn to David Hartley, a member of the British Parliament, Franklin expressed a strong desire that this "devilish war" might be brought to a close. Hartley carried the letter to Lord North, and negotiations were again opened. North, however, very shortly resigned, and the Rockingham ministry was formed, with Earl Shelburne as Secretary for the Colonies. Shelburne appointed a Mr. Richard Oswald, a personal friend, to represent England in the negotiations. He was a Scotch merchant in London, who had made a large fortune in the war, and had acquired much property in the States. He seems to have been a man of limited intelligence, and little force of character, and he became a mere tool in the hands of Franklin. Fox was Minister of Foreign Affairs, and insisted that the negotiations pertained to his department; and he sent over Thomas Grenville, son of Sir George Grenville, if not to replace Oswald at least to take part in the negotiations. To Grenville's surprise he found that Franklin had demanded the cession of Canada to the States, and that Oswald had apparently shown a disposition to yield. Grenville immediately informed Fox of the proposed arrangement, and Fox was exceedingly indignant; he communi-

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cated his views to Rockingham, Richmond, and Lord John Cavendish, and they agreed that the negotiations should be carried on by Grenville. Rockingham however was dying, and the Cabinet was divided. On the first of July Rockingham died, and Shelburne was called to form a ministry. Fox retired, and the negotiations were given entirely into Oswald's hands. Adams was the representative of Congress to the United Provinces, and he was now directed to assist Franklin, while Jay crossed from America for the same purpose. About the same time Benjamin Vaughan, like Oswald a personal friend of Shelburne, and Strachey, under Secretary of the Treasury, were commissioned to assist Oswald.

None of the English representatives had been in Canada, and their information was derived simply from the imperfect maps of the day. At the opening of the negotiations Franklin informed Oswald that he could not agree to anything till he had received the consent of the allies of Congress, France and Spain, but notwithstanding this assertion, the American representatives carried on their negotiations with very little reference to these powers, for their interests were not by any means identical.

On the same day, September 3rd, 1783, treaties with all the three powers were signed, that with the United States at Paris, those with France and Spain at Versailles. The second article of the treaty with the States settled the boundaries between Canada and the States; the third refers to the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawence; the fifth promises the restoration of property previously confiscated by authority of Congress, and has special reference to the property of the Royalists; the sixth asserts that no further confiscation or prosecution shall be commenced against any person for the part he may have taken in the present war.

The fourth article of the treaty with France re-affirms the thirteenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht, so far as it regards the Island of Newfoundland, which by that treaty had been ceded to England; but France was to re-acquire possession of the Islands of St. Pierre and St. Miquelon.

By the fifth article France renounced the right, belonging to her by the same thirteenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht, of fishing on the east coast of Newfoundland, from Cape Bonavista

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to Cape St. John, and received in lieu the right of fishing from Cape St. John passing north and then west to Cape Ray. The sixth article confirmed the right of fishing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence granted under the treaty of Paris of 1763. In reviewing these respective treaties we cannot but feel the "clumsy incompetency" of the British negotiators. Franklin knew perfectly what he was doing, and understood the line on which he had evidently determined. But by this line most important territory, with several forts raised and maintained at English expense, were ceded to the States without compensation; no less than twenty-four tribes of Indians, who had been thoroughly loyal to the British crown, were handed over without any stipulation to the government of the States, and the fur trade, which had been wholly in the hands of Canadian merchants, was at least divided with United States merchants. In the east Montreal and Quebec found themselves within a short distance of the frontier, while a portion of Nova Scotia was given over to the States, and instead of the old boundary of the Penobscot being retained it was henceforward to be the St. Croix, identified with the present Shoodic, and thus a very important piece of sea coast was lost to Canada. Lake Champlain was also ceded, and no action was taken in regard to Vermont. It may be true that Vermont had little or no claim on the consideration of England, still she had since 1776 declared her loyalty to George III. This state had been regarded as part of New Hampshire, and all lands west of the Connecticut had been known as the New Hampshire grants. New York, however, had claimed these lands, and the king and council had recognized this claim, and steps were taken by New York to dispossess the settlers on these so-called New Hampshire grants. This led to hostilities, and in 1771 Vermont declared her independence of both New York and New Hampshire, and in 1776 asked to be admitted as a fourteenth state into the Union. When this was refused she proffered her allegiance to the English king. On the 8th of August 1780 Germaine wrote to Haldimand "If Vermont people could be induced to put themselves under the king's protection it would be of essential service." In January 1782 he again wrote that no effort should be neglected, and no money spared to bring in Vermont, and added that he had reason to believe that if Ver-

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mont could be brought in Albany would soon follow. Yet in the negotiations for the treaty nothing seems to have been done regarding Vermont, and she was excluded by the boundary line laid down. Up to the very time of her being admitted as a fourteenth state into the Union she was still seeking to connect herself with Canada, and the possession of Vermont would have given entire control of Lake Champlain, and the surrounding country; a country producing valuable timber, and from which in 1788 Vermont offered to supply timber for the Royal Navy; but a country too of varied surface, intersected with lakes, rivers, and defiles, and other natural obstacles, forming an admirable point d'arret to an invading army, and where Burgoyne found those difficulties which really led to his discomfiture.

By the fifth article of the treaty with the United States it was agreed that those who had remained loyal to Great Britain should receive back their confiscated estates, and have the right of recovering any debt incurred up to that period, and Britain intimated to the States Congress that she would not hand over the posts ceded by the treaty unless compensation was made to the Royalists. The States, however, were reduced to extremity for want of money; they had borrowed from France during the war eighteen millions of livres, and they were bound by a treaty with France to return this in twelve equal annual payments, with five per cent. interest. The Royalists, however, suffered so much persecution that they were obliged to abandon everything, and seek refuge in Canada. They numbered in all about twenty-five thousand, and of these five thousand sought a home in Nova Scotia. They had found the way beset by so many difficulties that when they reached their destination they were in a state of utter destitution. The larger number of the Royalists were settled along the shores of the St. Lawrence, in the Niagara district, on the Bay of Quinte and the Ottawa valley. Too much can scarcely be said of the fortitude and determination of these families, or of their strong attachment to the British crown, and as might have been expected they and their descendants have formed a valuable element of our population.

But perhaps the most assailable part of the treaties were the articles dealing with the fisheries. The rights of the French have

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all along been acknowledged, though they have been time and again a source of annoyance, and it were well if some compensation should lead to the cession of these rights on the part of France. The United States, however, had no previous claim to the use of the fisheries, yet they were ceded the right to fish anywhere on the banks of Newfoundland, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, as long as it was three miles from shore; but they were not permitted to dry and cure fish on the Island of Newfoundland, though they might do so in any of the unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks of Nova Scotia, the Magdalene Islands, and Labrador, but so soon as any of these were settled it would cease to be lawful, unless by agreement with the possessors of the land. This concession to the States was without any corresponding authorization for British subjects to fish on their coasts. The treaty with the States very plainly shows that Shelburne was so anxious for peace that he was ready to purchase it at any price, utterly regardless of the interests and the lawful rights of Canadians. In fact, so reckless was the conduct of the British government that France took umbrage at it, and any opposition to the treaty arose chiefly with the French. The French minister Vergennes had for some time felt that the States had been looking entirely to their own interests, and not to the interest of their allies. He contended that the country of the great lakes was incontestably either a dependency of Canada, or the property of the Indians, and that the United States had no title to it. In November 1782 he intimated to the ambassador at Madrid not to continue the war on account of the ambitious pretensions of the Americans, either with reference to the fisheries, or to the boundaries. France he maintained had all along an interest in the Newfoundland fishery, and the French agents strongly denied the right of the Americans to unrestricted participation in it. The fishery of the broad sea they said is by natural law open to all; coast fisheries, apart from express treaty provisions, belong exclusively to the sovereign of the coast, and the Americans in ceasing to be British subjects had lost all right to fish upon an English coast. Had the English government held firm on this point Congress was not in a position to insist on it; but there was no one in the Cabinet sufficiently well-informed or sufficiently anxious to trouble himself in the matter, and the cession of the

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fisheries was granted—a matter of constant irritation between the two governments ever since.

The question of the Mississippi also excited opposition; the United States felt that the great west was their field for expansion, but bounded by Canada on the north, by Florida on the south, and the Mississippi on the west, their opportunities were too restricted. France and Spain, however, insisted on the Mississippi being the western boundary, and the British government claimed the free navigation of that river. Before the terms of the treaties were resolved on the negotiators of the States became violently hostile to Vergennes. Franklin wrote, "Jay thinks the French minister one of the greatest enemies of our country, that he would have straitened our boundaries to prevent the growth of our people, contracted our fisheries to obstruct the increase of our seamen, and retained the Royalists among us to keep us divided; that he privately opposes all our negotiations with foreign courts, and afforded us during the war the assistance we received only to keep it alive that we might be so much the more weakened by it." It is not difficult to see the spirit of which these words are the expression, but they are only the more remarkable considering how much France had done for the States during the war. As we have already remarked the interest of the two powers were essentially different, and when the war was near its close, and France began to realize the improbability of her gaining possession of Canada she became anxious to maintain a balance of power in the west between England and the States, and in a letter to the agent of France in the States Vergennes virtually states this.

In reviewing the concessions of the treaty with the United States Dr. Kingsford very well remarks: "No such treaty as I have recorded or the more deplorable Ashburton Treaty could again be forccd upon us, for those days have passed away forever, when the outer provinces were overborne by the cast-iron unbending theories conceived in the official mind of the London Colonial Office. It is now a beneficent practice of Great Britain in any negotiation in which Canada or any outer province of the Empire is interested that the points in dispute be represented by some responsible minister of the province interested."

The increase of population through the immigration of the

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Royalists, and the disbanding of some of the regiments, brought about a change in the government, and in 1791 was passed the Quebec Government Act, which established Representative Government in Canada, gave power to the Habeas Corpus Act, and separated the old Province of Quebec into two, Eastern or Lower Canada, and Western or Upper Canada. Lord Dorchester in his communications with the Home Government expressed strong doubts whether the time had arrived for such a change; a division which separated the "ancient inhabitants" from the English before the ancient prejudices had had time to die out. In the change proposed there seems to have been a foreshadowing, whether in the mind of Dorchester or one of the English Cabinet, of a system somewhat similar to our present Dominion Government; Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were to be united with the Canadian provinces, and there was to be a Governor-General, with a Lieutenant-Governor for the different provinces. Sir Alured Clark was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada, and Lieut.-Col. John Graves Simcoe Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. Simcoe was a man of much energy and independence, and was not satisfied with his position of subordinate to Lord Dorchester, with whom he could not always agree, and after a short term of office he resigned. He had the strange idea of choosing the site and founding towns in Upper Canada, without regard to the fact that towns can only develop according to the advantages of their position, and cannot be founded by law or caprice. After the resignation of Simcoe Mr. Peter Russell was administrator of the government till the arrival of Gen. Hunter as Lieut.-Governor of the province. Hunter died in 1805, when Mr. Alexander Grant held office till Sir France Gore relieved him in August 1806. Gen. Robert Prescott succeeded Lord Dorchester as Governor-General. Dorchester was distinguished by great ability and sterling integrity of character, he proved himself worthy of the confidence and sympathy of the Home Government, while he gained the affection of all classes in Canada, and it was no easy position which fell to Prescott as Lord Dorchester's successor. It was long before the essentially distinct elements of the Canadians could settle down to anything like amicable arrangements, and even yet there is some degree of friction. The systems, political, social and

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religious, which are peculiar to each nationality, are very different, and it is only time and mutual concessions which can bring about a happy result; but we are too anxious to hasten that time, forgetting that we ought not to try to force development, for wherever development has been forced it has rarely, if ever, been a healthy development, and more frequently has resulted in positive evil. Opposition and aggression from whatever side they may come have always called forth opposition and aggression in return, and have proportionately hindered the progress of society. We should not forget that all nationalities and religions in Canada are on an equal footing, and that the welfare of our Dominion depends on the harmony with which the machine moves. We must respect each other's language, laws, and religion; each of these, in both instances, rests on a long historic past, and that we should each be proud of our respective language, of our legal and judicial system, and of our religious faith is not only natural but healthy and manly, and true nobility of character will best be evinced in showing all respect to what is dear to either of us.

The tone of Dr. Kingsford's history is temperate and liberal, and his judgment of character and events is to our mind very just. Dr. Kingsford will, however, have to condense his materials, and his style very much, in order to bring his history to a close in two more volumes.

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IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICAN MEDICAL SCHOOLS.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE MEDICAL STUDENTS OF QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY.

Mr. Principal and Fellow-Students :

I HAVE addressed you as fellow-students, for I wish to impress upon you the fact that you must never cease to be students.

The medical man who does not study or read will soon find himself falling behind in the race. He will soon be only a mere drone in the hive of busy workers. Perhaps no other profession requires so much study and constant reading to keep up with the times. Like the "busy housewife" our work is never done. It is often 16 out of the 24 hours, for when not occupied with patients we must spend some of the time in reading.

With such a busy life I believe it is the duty of every physician occasionally to take a rest. It is better for himself and also for his patients. He should occasionally travel away from home so as to meet other medical men, and "see how they do it," while the Hospitals of the larger centres of civilization afford more material for experience and study. Such a visit will tend to broaden the mind, to give us better opinions of the work of others, and we return better for the rest, and invigorated both in body and mind, ready for hard work again, while our patients receive the benefit of our experience and renewed mental vigor and spirit.

It was with such an object in view that nine years ago I left home for a few weeks to visit the Hospitals of New York, and took a post-graduate course at one of the institutions established for that purpose. It would be difficult to express the delight it afforded me to become a real student again, to listen to those lectures and practical bedside instructions, or to watch the operations performed by the leaders of our profession in that great city. Besides the Polyclinic, I frequently visited Bellevue, St. Luke's, Mount Sinai, The Presbyterian, the Long Island College Hospital in Brooklyn and the Roosevelt Hospital. The latter is the first one in New York answering the full requirements for

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isolated pavilion wards, and is most modern in its equipments. It is close to the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and it is here they principally get their clinics. In connection with this Hospital the McLean operating theatre for gynecological work was built in 1890 and is a model of its kind. Lately the Syms operating theatre has been added at a cost of $200,000, with an endowment of $150,000 to keep it going. It is an elegant structure of brick with a glass dome roof, mosaic marble floor, and a wainscot of pure white marble reaching five feet from the floor. It has a seating capacity for 185, but as many as 330 could be taken into its amphitheatre.

There were two things that impressed me very forcibly at this visit: one was the marvellous results obtained by the antiseptic treatment of wounds, and the other was the presence and help of the trained nurse. To see joints opened, limbs saved, the cavities explored, and wounds heal uniformly without suppuration, was a revelation to me. I saw much of this depended on a clean and intelligent nurse, and that a model hospital needed both these elements for success. So, immediately on my return I introduced the antiseptic system into our Hospital and agitated the question of trained nurses. The sequel is known to most of you, and the public interest which has since been taken in our Hospital has resulted in the development of an institution of which we may be very proud. I believe there is no city in Canada of the size of Kingston which has as well equipped a Hospital, or one which is doing as good work.

I would like to tell you of my visit four years ago, for the second time, to the Hospitals of Europe, and what I saw in London, Edinburgh, Berlin, Hamburgh, and that immense hospital in Vienna with its 3,000 beds, but my time is limited and I must pass over the delights of that visit and confine myself to the Hospitals of America.

Last year while visiting the Chicago exhibition I went to see the Hospitals of that great, western, windy city. The largest is the Cook County Hospital, which has upwards of 1,000 beds, is old and dirty, but has done a great amount of good work. Quite near this is the Presbyterian Hospital, a more modern structure and with whose work are associated such familiar names as Nicholas Senn, Fenger, Hamilton, Henrotten, &c. One after-

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noon during two hours one of these surgeons showed us 16 patients, operating upon nearly half of them and exhibiting the rest as results of the previous clinic.

The College of Physicians and Surgeons is nearly opposite and I was shown through its well-stocked laboratories and elegant class rooms by one of the professors.

The "Mercy" and the "Michael Rees" Hospitals well repaid a visit, and one of the most pleasing institutions was the private Hospital of Dr. Streeter, which is elegance itself.

On my way home I visited Detroit, where I met Dr. McLean, one of our former professors here, and was introduced by him to some of the staff of the Harper Hospital and saw some of their work such as the injection of Iodoform into diseased joints and the treatment of irremovable malignant tumors by inoculation of erysipelas.

My next stop was Philadelphia. Here I called upon Dr. Joseph Price, who then had charge of the Preston Retreat as well as an elegant private Hospital of his own. From him I got many useful hints as to Hospital construction which have been embodied in our new Doran building and its management. I also visited the Presbyterian Hospital, a fine institution and one which is doing good work. The following day was spent in New York visiting the Polyclinic, Post-Graduate School, Bellevue and Roosevelt.

Last Spring I had another very interesting and instructive visit to Philadelphia. Dr. Price was again exceedingly kind and I had the opportunity of seeing him daily at his private Hospital during the whole week doing splendid work. I also witnessed Dr. Baldys' operations at the Gynecian Hospital. He is author of the American text-book of Gynecology, and an exceedingly clever operator. Here I met Dr. Ferguson, of Winnipeg, who had just been appointed Professor of Surgery at the Post-Graduate School of Chicago, and as we were both on the same mission it made it exceedingly pleasant and created a friendship which I hope will be lifelong. Together we visited the Pennsylvania Hospital where we met Dr. White, whose name was very familiar to me as the opponent of Lawson Tait in a controversy regarding the antiseptic method, and I had already conceived a very high regard for his professional ability. I thought his method of

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clinical instruction especially good. Having called one of the Senior students down from his seat he questioned him before the class and assisted him through a most thorough and sifting examination of the patient. Here we also met Dr. Keen (author of the American text-book of Surgery) who was especially kind in showing us his clinical work. I was very much struck with the gentlemanly behaviour of the students. When Dr. Keen introduced us to the class of about 300 students they immediately rose to their feet and then quietly sat down. I was informed by one of the professors that matters of discipline are always settled by the students themselves, so that it is never even necessary to bring matters of this kind before the faculty.

The next week we spent at Baltimore visiting the Johns Hopkins Hospital. This institution was built by means of a large fortune left by Johns Hopkins, a retired merchant, who died in 1873. The building was begun in 1875 and completed in 1889. The construction, heating, ventilation and drainage are of the most modern and scientific kind. The physiological and pathological laboratories are most complete and the teaching is entirely practical. We were very kindly received by Dr. Osler, a distinguished Canadian who is physician-in-chief, and by him were introduced to the other members of the staff. This Hospital is a model, probably one of the finest in the world, is doing some of the best work by perfecting recent methods, and encouraging recent research. Its workers are all enthusiasts and most painstaking, while by means of the munificence of the founder it is being enabled to carry out a plan of advancement in medical and surgical training which is certain to have a beneficial effect on the profession at large and so upon the whole of humanity. Its medical school only began last session with 18 students, but its preliminary standard is a high one, for all must have either B.A. or B.Sc., and its training is purely practical and not didactic. Besides Dr. Osler, its other teachers have a wide reputation, Dr. Halstead (surgery), Dr. Howard Kelly (gynecology), and Dr. Welch (pathology). The week spent there was a delightful and profitable one, and will be a bright spot in my future reminiscences.

Last month while on my way home from St. John, N.B., where I attended the annual meeting of the Dominion Medical

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Association, I stopped over for two days at Boston and visited the Massachusetts General Hospital, where I met some of the distinguished surgeons and saw a great deal of their work. The building is a very old one, its walls and pillars covered with ivy, and as I looked round the old operating theatre my mental vision went back to a scene which occurred here just 48 years ago. The scene was a memorable one. A recent inspection of a remarkable historical painting, yet unfinished in the studio of Mr. Robt. Hinckley, in Washington, brings the event to my mind. Looking at it, and recalling the words of an eye-witness, we may place ourselves back among that wondering group of physicians and spectators. Upon the table, about to be operated upon, lies the patient. Around him, in expectant attitudes, are grouped the surgeons. The Senior Warren stands with knife uplifted, ready to make the first incision, his left hand grasping a large vascular tumor upon the patient's neck. Stretching backward and upward, in the usual amphitheatre seats, is a sea of human faces, doubt and wonder depicted upon them, for word had gone forth broadcast that, on this day, a test would be made of an agency to annul pain. Inserted in the floor beneath the table are great hooks of iron, beneath which ropes are carried to bind down the struggling patient. Near by, too, stand brawny attendants, whose strong and trained arms are even more efficient than ropes. In the background one sees the great padded doors, closed so that no agonizing shriek shall penetrate to any other part of the building. In the centre of the group stands a slight, but graceful tall young figure, in his right hand holding the inhaler from which he had just administered the ether, his left fallen listlessly away to his side, for his work was done. He has just said, "Dr. Warren, your patient is ready." At this point we turn to the words of our eye-witness. Turning to those present Dr. Warren had said, "As Dr. Morton has not arrived, I presume he is otherwise engaged," plainly conveying the impression that Dr. Morton did not intend to come. A smile of derision swept across the faces of the audience. Once more disappointment, once more the impossible was to baffle human effort; it was only one more medical humbug. At this moment Dr. Morton entered. One apprehensive glance at his patient to see if he was a good subject for ether; one look at the audience

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for a spark of sympathy, which he found not, and he was at work. Instructing his patient to breathe deep and long, and to have confidence in him, he skilfully piloted him into that profound state of ether narcotism we now know so well. It was then that he had said, "Dr. Warren, your patient is ready." The first incision is made, and there is no sign of suffering. A pin could have been heard to fall, so intense was the silence. Dr. Warren quietly completed the operation, and inserted the stitches. Still no sign of pain, the patient slumbered as peacefully as a child in happy dreams. Dr. Warren turned slowly from that recumbent figure. Looking up at those eager faces, he quietly said, "Gentlemen, *this* is no humbug."

We are lost in admiration at the simplicity of this great event. By reason of it the 16th of Oct., 1846, is forever made memorable as long as man shall suffer pain. Quietly the news spread over the civilized globe, and ether anæsthesia became the daily practice of all surgeons, and a recognized obstetrical procedure.

A little more than a year later, Nov., 1847, Dr. Jas. Y. Simpson, of Edinburgh, Scotland, found another agent which he could substitute for ether. It was chloroform. For this he was knighted and otherwise honored without stint. But as to Dr. Morton, the very greatness of his initial service to humanity overwhelmed him. The world had obtained release from surgical agony, and having possession of it, cared not what became of him. It let him die in poverty, after years of vain struggle. Does any physician to-day pause to ask himself what portion of the sum total of his reputation and success and income he derived from the courage of that first public demonstrator, who faced a world's doubts in the persons of that august assemblage in that old amphitheatre in Boston? We fear not many.

And now what lessons can we draw from this experience. I think as teachers we must throw more enthusiasm into our work. Let us bear in mind that the teaching of these young men is a sacred charge which we must try to conscientiously fulfil. We must try to teach rather than lecture; our work must be more practical, less didactic. Students are often treated like living photographs, we lecture at them and then we turn the examination-handle and they speak it back again. Anatomy must be taught, not by dry facts, but by dissections, frozen sections, and

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in its relation to physiology and the comparative anatomy of the lower animals. The museum could be made a fertile source of education. Bacteriology must have a prominent place, for I believe in the near future every practitioner will have to know how to prepare artificial culture media, and be able to isolate the organisms of Diphtheria, Consumption and Cholera.

And lastly, gentlemen, fellow-students, let me remind you of the lessons you may gather from what I have said. Be industrious and seize every opportunity of increasing your store of knowledge. One of the peculiarities of human nature is to be dissatisfied. While our aspirations are often higher than our power to satisfy them, still a noble ambition is praiseworthy. I have no patience with the man who thinks he is perfect, that he knows it all. One is struck with this on visiting a great medical centre, how little he knows after all, and how much it is possible yet to learn in his profession. Set before yourselves some ideal, the higher the better, for the very attempt to reach it will make you nobler and greater. Seek to obtain the respect and confidence of your fellow-students and teachers, and all with whom you come in contact. No amount of skill or knowledge will compensate for the lack of gentlemanly manners. It would be hard to say which is the most tolerable—the man with mind and no manners, or the man with manners and no mind. I can serve no good purpose by enlarging upon the noble and exalted character of the profession you are just entering. Medicine is the noblest of professions, the meanest of trades.

Over the door of the Academy of Medicine in New York I observed this motto, "Homines deos accedunt hominibus dando salutem,"—"men most resemble the gods when they afford health to their fellowmen." Let each one of us therefore aim to add something to the sum total of medical knowledge while we strive to live lives of purity, of virtue, of honor, and honesty. Is it not grander to have lived a life void of offence towards all men, and to have discovered a remedy to allay pain or cure such pests as diphtheria or consumption or cholera, than to have conquered a nation, or ruled over a kingdom?

K. N. FENWICK.

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RESEMBLANCES BETWEEN PLANTS AND ANIMALS.

THE wealth of life is almost incalculable. To say that there are over a million species of living animals and about 150,000 species of plants, half of the animals being insects, gives one no idea of their numbers, for a million is unthinkable. How then does the student of Zoology make the acquaintance of such a vast number of animals? He does not do it. It would take half a lifetime to learn their names, without learning anything of their various forms and physiology, not to speak of their every day lives, their embryology or their relationships. The task would be simply hopeless, and no biologist of the present day ever attempts it. What does he do then? Well, as a beginner he accepts the classification of animals current in recent years; he studies the anatomy and physiology of a few animals belonging to the great divisions, such as a cat or dog, a bird, a snake, a frog, a fish, a crayfish, an insect, a worm, an oyster, a starfish, a sponge, an infusor, a bacillus. The careful dissection of a few dozen animals gives him an excellent idea of the structure of the million, for nature, as Lamark long ago observed, is adaptive rather than inventive; she is conservative rather than radical. She began with very simple beginnings, with organisms that you can call neither animals nor plants—forms much lower than "the heaps of raw bacteria" of which we hear so much now-a-days, and from these humble forms, she built up new and higher forms, little by little, differentiating the parts, and dividing the labors of the parts until all the higher animals and plants were slowly but surely evolved. For life is a unit, not a dual thing. It exhibits itself to us in two great forms, viz., animal and plant, but the two great forms are not essentially different. Everyone of course can distinguish a horse from an oak or a fish from a moss, but no one can point out the distinction between the lowest forms of plant life and the lowest forms of animal life. Plants and animals spring from a common stock. The two forms of life have been likened to a tree with two great branches and a common trunk. The one branch would represent animal life, the other branch

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vegetable life. Or the two forms may be likened to our letter Y, one representing animal life, the other vegetable life, and both joined at the base. The higher forms of animal and plant life are far apart at the top; a child can see their differences; but go down among the lower creatures and the differences gradually disappear, their resemblances become clearer, and finally no line of demarcation whatever can be seen to separate the one from the other. These firstlings of life occupy a muddy pool from which flow away on all sides all the possibilities of higher life. The naturalist as well as the poet spoke when Goethe celebrated Nature's wealth, "In floods of life, in storm of activity, she moves and works above and beneath, working and weaving, an endless motion, birth and death, an infinite ocean, a changeful web, a glowing life; she plies at the roaring loom of time, and weaves a living garment for God."

Now in all this wealth of animal and plant life what is there that is common to both? In answer it may be said that there are three grand particulars in which they resemble each other: (1) in minute structure (2) in their movements and (3) in their origin.

First—*Minute Structure.* All animals and plants are made up of what we call *cells*, that is, of very minute portions of matter, placed side by side, and forming the bones, muscles, nerves and all the organs of the individual plant or animal. Each cell may roughly be said to consist of three parts; an outside wall, an inner fluid portion called protoplasm, and a denser central portion within the protoplasm called the nucleus. You may form a very good notion of a cell if you think of a hen's egg. The shell will represent what we call the cell wall, the white of the egg will represent the fluid protoplasm, and the yolk will represent the nucleus. Birds, frogs, fish, insects, snails, sponges, oaks, pines, grasses, mosses, moulds—all have been picked to pieces and proved to consist of cells. There are small cells and big cells, short ones and long ones, flat ones and thick ones, lean ones and fat ones. There are blood cells and muscle cells, nerve cells and bone cells, stomach cells, and liver cells, brain cells and skin cells, and hair cells and nail cells, and taste cells and sight cells, nose cells, ear cells—cells from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot—cells of every conceivable shape, size, and function.

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Now, what is the difference between one of the lower animals, say, a sponge, and one of the higher animals, say, a horse? The answer is quite simple, when you have once grasped the idea of a *cell*. The horse has a great many more cells in his body than the sponge has, and the cells are of a different kind. They are complex in one and simple in the other. Exactly the same thing is true of a simple plant like the *yeast* and a higher plant, say a maple. The yeast plant consists of a single cell, the maple of millions. Simpler animals than sponges consist, like the yeast plant, of a single cell. These single-celled animals perform all the functions that the higher animals perform. Though they have no limbs yet they move, though they have no mouth or stomach, they can eat and digest food; though they have no heart, or lungs, they can breathe and circulate the fluids of the body. In short, all the higher animal functions are performed by these one-celled animals. A one-celled animal is like a hermit, living alone and being hunter, farmer, cook, tailor, shoemaker, blacksmith, carpenter—doing everything for himself. A many-celled animal is like a community of civilized people. Now, one of the characteristics of society is that there are classes of men, who do special kinds of work and do it for the whole community, farmers, merchants, physicians, politicians, lawyers and such like. In animals made up of many cells, all the cells do *not* do exactly the same kind of work, as is the case with one-celled animals. On the contrary there are cells set apart for giving hardness and solidity to the body; such cells are called bone cells. Then there are cells set apart for binding the bones together—connective tissue cells; cells to produce motion of the parts and of the whole body—muscle cells; cells concerned in carrying nutritive matter to every part of the body and waste matter away—blood cells; cells for carrying impressions and messages from part to part—nerve cells; cells for secreting saliva; gastric juice, bile; cells for protection; cells for hearing, for tasting, for smelling, for feeling. Every animal and plant is a city of cells. In Berlin I am told that some streets are inhabited entirely by bakers, some by tailors, some by bootmakers, and some by watchmakers. In other words, the division of labor has thrown the followers of the same occupation into the same streets. Now, in any one of the higher animals we find an analogous condition

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of affairs. All the cells concerned in seeing are located in one part of the body—the eye; all concerned in smelling are placed in the nose; all concerned in tasting are located in the mouth, and so on. Similar cells grouped together in this way in different parts of the body and designed to do some special work constitute organs. Nor is this differentiation of cells confined to the higher animals. The same thing exactly occurs in all the higher plants. There is this same division of labor. There are aggregations of cells to fix the plant in the ground and absorb nourishment—root cells; other companies of cells to form the flower and produce seed; others to form the leaves and aid in respiration and evaporation; others to promote the circulation of the sap; and others again to give firmness and solidity to the whole organism.

The protoplasm is the essential part of a cell. It is the moving, sensitive, growing, irritable, living part of a cell. When it dies the cell is dead. The greater the quantity of healthy protoplasm in a man the greater his energy, vitality; but a weakling is only half alive on account of the lack of this "physical basis of life." All the activities of life are carried on in the cells; excretion, secretion, reproduction, sensation, thought, emotion, feeling —all are associated with the latent activities of protoplasm.

Life in motion is seen best in the cell. Its protoplasm is in ceaseless motion. Night and day during the life of the cell it travels on in endless circles within the cell wall. Through the tiny openings which generally connect cell with cell it streams, outward and inwards. It is as restless as the ocean, as sensitive as a nerve, as living as the soul.

The manufacture of this protoplasm is a profound secret. Man with his scalpels, and needles, and microtomes, and stains, and microscopes can gain no admission to the factories in which it is made. He can sit and watch its ceaseless whirl as it circles round the cell, but he cannot fathom the mysteries of its work. The moment he lays his rough hands upon the cell, the machinery stops. He knows what raw materials enter the factory, and he sees some of the products; but he knows no more. He sees that carbon-dioxide, water, and the earthy and gaseous matters dissolved in water, are the crude materials out of which plant protoplasm is manufactured, and he knows that every acre of forest increases by hundreds of tons in weight every year, but he

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is baffled in every attempt to discover how the protoplasm does this wonderful work. The manufacture of patent medicines, or Mr. Campbell White's chemicals, or De Krupp's big guns, are open secrets compared with the manufacture of protoplasm.

But not merely are we ignorant of how protoplasm grows, we are ignorant also of how it secretes or makes many other substances found in the cells of plants. Take for example starch. If you examine the leaf of the potato, you find small starch granules stored up in the cell, during the day. At night these granules are changed to a soluble sugar, and conveyed away to some other part of the plant. How all this is done we know not. Nor do we know how hundreds of oils and jellies and gums and acids and odors are made in these living factories.

We meet analogous mysteries in animal forms. Take a morsel of food into the mouth, and instantly the fact is telegraphed to a nerve centre in the hind brain. Out from that centre go other messages to the salivary glands to manufacture saliva. The artery to that gland expands; more blood goes pouring through it; the protoplasm responds to the stimulus and each cell sends out its quota of saliva to aid in the process of digestion. "Thirty-three chews to the bite," says Gladstone, "if you wish to have good digestion." But 1,000 chews to a bite would be of no avail, as dyspeptics well know, unless the protoplasm of those cells manufactured the saliva. How do they do it? How do the gastric cells of the stomach manufacture their juices? The nerve cells act, muscle cells do their part, the gland cells theirs, and so on. How do they do it? How? And the only answer we get is an echo.

You can now easily understand what is meant when we say that an animal or a plant "grows." It means simply that the cells composing the organism increase in number. The smaller and younger the plant or animal, the fewer cells it has in its body; and the larger an animal or plant, then the more numerous the cells are; just as a hut contains a few hundred stones in its walls, and a mansion many thousands. The simile may be carried further, for just as the stones or bricks of a house are held together by mortar or cement, so the cells of an organism are fastened together by what is called intercellular or cement substance, secreted by the cell itself.

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The manner in which cells increase in number is interesting. The process is exactly the same in an animal as in a plant. I have watched it for hours in the eggs of the sea-urchin, and I could see no difference between cell division in it, and in, say, an onion. Each cell slowly constricts in the middle; the nucleus divides into two; its halves travel to each end of the dividing cell; the constriction deepens, and in about 10 or 15 minutes each cell has become two. These two absorb nourishment, increase in size, divide again and give rise to four cells. These four produce 8, 16, 32, 64, and so on.

Why a cell should divide into two after attaining a certain size, one can easily understand, at any rate, in the case of one-celled animals. For, the bulk of a cell when first formed bears, of course, a fixed proportion to its surface. Now, it is by its surface that a cell absorbs nourishment and excretes waste matters, and as a cell goes on increasing in size, its bulk or volume increases more rapidly than its surface—as the cube to the square. For example, if at first the bulk be to the surface as 1 : 1, then if the cell double its dimensions the bulk will become to the surface as 2 : 1—and consequently the absorbing and excreting surface becomes totally insufficient for the growing wants of the enlarging cell. It is a physical necessity therefore for the cell to divide. It must do this or something equivalent if it would continue to live. As soon, however, as division takes place, the absorbing and excreting surface again becomes sufficient for the wants of the two new cells, and life goes on.

Movement. The second great resemblance between an animal and a plant is that both are characterized by movement. Of course, if you ask even a fairly-well educated person to mention one of marks which distinguish an animal from a plant, the chances are almost ten to one that he will say: "Animals move and plants do not." Now, strange as it may seem to the unobservant, it is nevertheless true that some plants move about all their lives, and all move to some extent. Their movements are more limited than those of the higher animals; they live more sluggish lives, the majority cannot move from place to place, but then there are thousands of animals also which cannot move from place to place. Sponges, corals, sea-squirts, and barnacles are rooted for the whole or part of their lives to piles, rocks and reefs,

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as firmly as oaks to the hillside. They never change their place. The seeds of the higher plants are often carried great distances, and the young tree may grow miles away from the parent stem, but in the case of corals and such like animals, cradle and grave are side by side. They are born, mature, live and die in the same spot. Consequently, we cannot say that movement from place to place is an exclusive mark of animal life. Still less can we say that movement of parts or organs of animals is a distinctive characteristic. For in almost every plant there is some movement of its parts. Trees are great laggards in the race of life. Their movements are leisurely. In plants life is not so intense as in animals. There is no hurry. If "time were made for slaves," only, there are no slaves among the race. Life is at fever heat among birds and insects, but sluggards abound among cold-blooded crocodiles and lizards. Still, the most sluggish of animals are much more active than plants. Life is asleep in the one; it wakes and works in the other. The one hoards its life products like a miser; the other seizes these savings and scatters them with a spendthrift hand. Five hundred or a thousand years is not a great age for a tree, but a Burns or a Keats live out their little span in as many months. "They toil not, neither do they spin," these plants—their movements are in leisurely circles, twining round tiny strings, climbing slowly up a mansion or a cathedral. Their flowers worship the sun-god, opening and closing like the *morning glories* with the growing and waning light of day. Their leaves rise and sink; those of the sensitive plant droop at the slightest touch. Those of some of the insectivorous plants pierce their victims with spines and imprison them in a living grave. The stamens of many flowers discharge pollen grains upon the insects which jostle them in search of honey. *Volvox*, a microscopic plant, rolls through the water with as stately a movement as a sea-monster, and diatoms march across the fields of view like a company of soldiers. The tip of the root of a seedling grows spirally downwards, thus gently moving and pressing the ground to one side, and making a path for itself into the depths of the earth. The buds and blossoms of all the higher plants grow upwards, tracing circles and eclipses as they rise and expand. Circumnutation—that is the technical word for it,—seems to be a general law of vegetable life. If any of you doubt

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the statement, you have only to repeat some of Hooker's or Darwin's experiments. Attach a long but very light needle to the leaves, buds or flowers of any of our common plants, and watch the tracings they will make upon blackened glass or paper, and you will soon convince yourselves that movements among plants though not so extensive nor varied as among animals are just as wonderful and quite as difficult to explain. No one, for example, can explain why the hop and the honeysuckle rotate from right to left, while the bean and the morning glory twine round their supports in the opposite direction. The cause of the rotation resides in the plant cells. There is no mechanism of muscles and nerves, of joint and sinew as in animals, but after all, the cause of the movements in both cases is in the cell or is due to some change in the cells. Every muscle fibre is a modified cell, and when a muscle contracts and produces motion of the parts, the muscle cells are the ones which produce the motion. And in a similar manner, the cause of the movements of plants, whether of root, stem, leaf or flower, resides in the cells. When I have said this, however, the riddle is by no means read. The mystery of life in motion is as great as ever.

Their Origin. The third great resemblance between animals and plants is that both originate in the same way. Every plant from a diatom to a maple, and every animal from an amoeba to a man, begins life as a single cell. None of the one-celled plants or animals ever get beyond the one-celled stage—one celled they begin life and one-celled they end it. But the higher plants and animals—the multicellular ones as they are called, go on from the one-celled condition to two cells, then four cells, and finally to thousands and millions. You can easily verify this for yourselves. Go to any frog pond in the spring of the year, and watch the frogs' eyes developing. The egg is at first a single cell, then it becomes two-celled, then four, 16, 32, 64, 128, and so on until the original one cell has divided internally into a mass of minute cells. This is the first step in the life history of any of the higher animals, and let me say in parenthesis that the lower plants and animals never get beyond this stage, The second step is the invagination of this mass of cells, that is, it becomes pushed in from one end, just as you might push in the end of the finger of an empty glove. This second stage may be called the *worm-like*

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stage in the life history of a higher animal. The third stage is the one in which the form of the animal is dimly outlined—head, body, and spinal cord and vertebrae. But, at this stage, a very extraordinary sight is seen. Instead of the outlines of a diminutive frog, one sees distinctly the outlines of one of the lower fishes—with gills, gill-arches, tail, and tail-fin. In short the young frog is first a worm-like animal, then a fish-like one, and only after some months does it grow fore and hind limbs, lose its gills and tail and become a respectable-looking frog.

If you study the development of the chick you will meet with a similar series of changes gradually following one another. Let us go over the steps, but before doing this, remember that the egg contains not merely the large germ cell, but also a supply of yolk food for the growing organism. Now, leaving out of consideration this food supply, the germ cell of the egg divides internally and forms a discoidal mass of minute cells. Then a worm-like stage occurs; then a fish-like stage; an amphibian stage, a reptile stage and lastly a bird stage. Not however a bird stage such as we know the chick to be, but a grouse-like form, then that of a gaudy Indian bird, and finally the chick form—and all so gradually, that you cannot tell where one ends and the other begins, and irresistibly reminding you of a series of dissolving views.

Now, this hurried general statement of the stages in the development of the frog and the chick, prepares the way for the statement of what is known as the Law of Recapitulation, which means that a developing bird or mammal in its growth, from the egg to the adult form, repeats in a general way the development of the race. I mean that all the higher animals go over again in their development the history of the development of their ancestry. The individual history is a recapitulation of the racial history; and just as a frog or a chick begins life as an egg and goes successively through a morula stage, a worm-like stage, a fish-like stage, an amphibian stage, a reptile stage, and so on; so it is believed by biologists that these are the stages through which all animals must have passed in becoming what they are to-day. The evolution of the race is summarized in the evolution of the individual.

The higher plants, too, in their imperfect way, repeat in their growth from the germ cell to the adult form, the history of the

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forms which preceded them. The repetition, of course, is slight, because plants have little to repeat; but in a general way the law holds good in plant embryology as well as in animal embryology. To begin with, there is the germ cell. That divides and re-divides until the original cell or ovule is one mass of minute cells. The lower plants go no further than this. At this point the mother cell breaks and lets out the mass of cells, each one of which goes off and may produce a new plant. But in the higher plants this mass of cells divides into two parts, each half gradually forming the two embryonic leaves and in some cases the beginning of a stem. Here again, therefore, the individual history is a recapitulation of the racial history.

Not merely do all animals and plants start from a cell, but the higher ones in both kingdoms resemble each other in laying up a supply of nourishment for the young organism. The seed of a bean for example is nothing more than a tiny plant folded up in the smallest possible dimensions and surrounded with a supply of food. When such a seed is planted it does *not* die, as some people suppose. It absorbs moisture from the soil, the embryo leaves expand, the tiny stem grows spirally upwards, and the baby root spirally downwards. The life of a seed is just a continuation of life handed down from the earliest times from plant to plant. There has been perfect physical continuity. There is no death of the seed; if it died, there would be no plant. The seed, then, is just a tiny portion of the parent stem, folded up in a very small space, and provided with a supply of food until it is able to make its own way in the world. The eggs of birds, amphibians and reptiles illustrate the same general law of life.

A. P. KNIGHT.

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DIARY OF AN OFFICER IN THE WAR OF 1812-14.

I HAD the honor of reading the following paper before the Kingston Historical Society, at its February meeting. It consists of the diary of a Captain in the "Voltigeurs Canadiens," while on detachment duty at Kingston during the summer of 1813. This article is therefore a translation from the original in French, to which I have added a few notes. It contains so much of interest to the historian, the antiquarian, and even entertaining matter for the general reader, as told in the original text, that I have taken pains to depart from it as little as possible. I beg the reader to overlook Gallicisms, even if of frequent occurrence.

This diary has been attributed to Captain Jacques Viger, who subsequently rose to great distinction in civil life, and in 1833 became first Mayor of Montreal. I believe that portions of it appeared anonymously in a small periodical, printed in Montreal, about 1824. Viger's name, however, does not appear in the list of officers of the Voltigeurs for 1814. Had he resigned after the campaign of 1813? He had been most actively employed during that year's operations, having been present at the attack on Sackett's Harbour, the siege and capture of Oswego, the battles of Chrystler's Farm and Chateauguay, the engagements at the Four Corners and Lacolle, etc. The Voltigeurs Regiment was raised in Quebec in May, 1812, specially for the war. It was commanded by Colonel de Salaberry, the hero of Chateauguay. It was nearly exclusively composed of French-Canadians. It greatly distinguished itself in the field, but was disbanded in 1815.

DIARY—TRAVEL TO UPPER CANADA IN 1813.

April 1st.—On the first of the month I left St. Philippe, after having dined with my friend Sanguinet at La Tortue, and slept that night at Chateauguay, in a tavern kept by a doctor.

On the 2nd we left Chateauguay and dined at Isle Pernot, near the church. The village stands on an elevation, overlooking the lands of Chateauguay, the Lake of Two Mountains, and

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further to the west the picturesque Coteau des Cédres, clad with ever-green trees. At the foot of these hills are to be seen the canal cut through the rock to facilitate the passage of the Cascades rapids. This canal crosses a point at the foot of the Cedres rapids; it is built with great care; its margins are lined with stone masonry; it is spanned by a handsome bridge well arched. This bridge was formerly the "Porte des Recollets, or Recollet Gate," one of the city gates of Montreal.* In it I recognized an old friend, and at first experienced joy, which was soon followed by an opposite emotion; it had, alas, lost the once familiar stains of time. Oh! this bridge, handsome and solid though it be, had lost for me the attraction of former days. Then it was tottering, it is true, and was threatening to crush the passer-by, but it was a ruin and worthy of my love and veneration.

Cornwall or New Johnstown.—On the fourth we reach Cornwall, as weary and fatigued with the journey as we possibly could be.

Cornwall is the first Upper Canadian town met with on the journey up to Kingston. It is well situated in a commodious cove, the outlet of a creek. The streets are wide and straight. It has a church, a court house, a jail and neat houses, all built of wood. The Government has a barracks here and also maintains a small garrison. The building formerly known as "The Cornwall College" is now closed; there is a school where children are taught to read and write. The ground owned by this town is quite extensive, but so far it consists mostly of building lots, surrounded by fences, three-fourths of which are vacant. Commerce flourished here before the declaration of war; its college had a fair reputation. These advantages and its pretty site would have made it a town of some importance. A piece of paper—a mere document—with a few musket balls, have changed all this. The Temple of the Muses is deserted; the merchant's yard measure is laid aside for the *gille* or the musket.

Cornwall—otherwise New Johnstown—is the Capital of the District; in its rear extends the County of Stormont. The

*I have been unable to ascertain if this venerable city gate of Montreal is still extant, nor if the canal referred to still exists. It had originally been made at the time of the War of Independence, and enlarged and rebuilt in 1799, 1801, 1802, by Captains Bruyeres and Landmann, of the Royal Engineers. It was probably at this period that the Recollet gate was re-erected as a bridge.

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French-Canadian Voyageurs know it still by the name of Pointe Maligne.* It is eighty miles distant from Montreal.

On the 5th we journeyed but two leagues, and encamped at Mille Roches, the weather having become very bad.

On the 6th we made an early start, passed the Long Sault, the "Rapide Plat," and put up that evening at a Dutchman's named Chrystler; he is a recruiting captain and landed proprietor, also owner of a very handsome establishment in the Township of Williamsburg.† All the officers put up at his house, and he placed moreover, at their disposal a large apartment for the use of the men. His wife equalled him in hospitality and civilities. She supplied them abundantly with fresh milk, vegetables, etc.,—in a word, they treated us to all sorts of attentions. Captain Chrystler is a well-to-do farmer, who lives as a gentleman. His lumber enterprises are enriching him rapidly. We were supplied here with most comfortable beds, and we left this hospitable home with regret, after partaking of an excellent "déjeuner a la fauchette." Chrystler, moreover, prevailed on me to leave my carriage with him and to accept the use of his own—a better one—and of his "confidential servant," who drove me as far as Cananocoui, and proved of the greatest assistance to me.

On the morning of the 7th we started from Williamsburg, and encamped that evening at two leagues from the next village (Johnstown) in a miserable cabin, where Indians had preceded us. We were famished, but found there no provisions whatever. Our hostess was one of those unfortunate creatures afflicted, I think, with innumerable imaginary ills. What a bore! If we asked for food she replied with full descriptions of her sufferings; if for a bed, then her tale of woe was rehearsed; in despair we spoke French to her; she nearly fainted with fright; we thought best to retire for fear of a more deplorable contingency.

The 8th we reached Johnstown, formerly Oswegatchie, in time for breakfast. Johnstown, Capital of the District of the same name, is situated in the Township of Edwardsburg in the County of Grenville. It fronts on the St. Lawrence, and is 120

*Because here began the difficult ascent of the Long Sault.

†The battle of Chrystler's farm was fought here on the 18th, Oct., 1813, when 1,100 British troops and Canadian militia, under Colonels Morrison and Harvey, defeated 2,000 American troops, chiefly regulars, under General Wilkinson, with a loss of 236 wounded and 102 killed. The British loss was 1 officer and 21 men killed, and 10 officers and 137 men wounded. Croil, in his history of Dundas County, says that Captains Nairn and Clause, of the 49th, and Ensign De Louinier, of the Voltiguers, were killed during the action. He says the British force numbered only 850 all told.

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miles west of Montreal, It consists of a court house, a jail, a good lodging-house, a few private houses built along the public highway, also of a King's store-house or magazine.

The sites of both (*Johnstown and Cornwall*) were well chosen. The first is situated at the foot of the rapids and enjoys the expanse and fair waters of Lake St. Francis, while from the second at the head of the rapids vessels can sail to Queenstown on the Niagara River, and to all the other harbours and ports on Lake Ontario.

The women, children and heavy impedimenta were left here to permit us to travel more rapidly. We now soon covered the three miles to Prescott or New Oswegatchie, also facing the river, in the Township of Augusta. This village is well built on a rocky prominence. It is also known by its ancient name of La Galette.* The buildings are not remarkable in appearance; it is true it is, however, the strongest military post we have yet come to. On the left of the village is an "embarras" or *cheveau de frise*, made with interlaced branches, to render its approach from that side more difficult. At a short distance from and behind the town earth-works are being thrown up with fascined embrasures, where heavy artillery will soon be mounted. These works are quadrangular in shape, surrounded by a moat. They will contain a redoubt, store-houses and casemated quarters for a goodly garrison. (It has since been named Fort Wellington.) To the west of the village there are also some batteries. The garrison at present consists of regulars and militia.

†On the south side of the river immediately opposite, on the banks of the Oswegatchie, are the ruins of an ancient fort, known to the English as Oswegatchie and to the French as Fort La-Prèsentation; contiguous to it is the handsome and prosperous town of Ogdensburgh. The Americans have batteries there.

Early on the morning of the ninth we reached Brockville (formerly Elizabethtown), 142 miles from Montreal. This village is undoubtedly the best built and prettiest yet seen on the way up. Its buildings are handsome, even elegant. It fronts Eliza-

*Point a la Galette is very often mentioned in the old French diaries from the time of La Salle; at one time a small fort or entrenchment existed there.

†Lt.-Colonel George MacDonell (Red George) commanded here. On the 22nd February preceding he had crossed over to Ogdensburgh at the head of his regiment of fencibles; he had put the garrison to flight, destroyed their barracks, armed vessels, and returned with 4 brass cannon and 700 stand of arms.

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bethtown Township in the County of Leeds. The King's highway is the only street, it is true, but it is wide, long and straight. Several large houses built of brick and wood, some of them roofed with "*Arga masse*" (*sic*) line both sides of the road. On the most elevated part of the village, facing a public square, is a large edifice of brick, recently built; it is the court house. For the present it is used for the triple purpose of church, jail and guardhouse. This village recently took the name of Brockville when General Brock was promoted to the Presidency of Upper Canada.

There are several sawmills in Upper Canada operating several saws, but Mr. Jones' mill at Brockville is known far and wide as the "14 sawmill," and among the batteaumen and voyageurs to go to the "14 *Sawmill*," means to go to Brockville and nowhere else.

April 11th.—Cananocoui is a small military station, thirty-four miles from Brockville; it is also situated in the County of Leeds on the St. Lawrence. It is named from a river which takes its source in a chain of lakes in the interior. I noticed here a redoubt, manned by a few militiamen, three or four houses, a large bridge, a fine waterfall, and again a "14 saw mill"—that's all. From Brockville upwards the road is hewn through a continuous forest of very lofty trees. We here see the St. Lawrence for a while but soon penetrate the forest, from which we emerge again only at Kingston, the ancient Cataracoui, 35 miles distant.*

"*The Land Journey from Montreal to Kingston, formerly Cataracoui.*"—When you travel from Montreal to Kingston you keep the St. Lawrence in sight until you have reached six miles beyond Brockville. The roads are good enough, particularly so from Cornwall westward. Six miles above Brockville the woods commence; the roads here are unpleasant, long stretches of corduroy bridge the swamps and low grounds, bridges remarkably solid, some long and lofty, span creeks and fairly-wide rivers. With the exception of at Cananocoui, for a short distance, the River St. Lawrence is lost to view. The soil is mostly rocky, yet well wooded.

The first part of the journey is made most pleasant by the view of the great river. Although in parts it is not wider than

*An error; it is only 18 miles.

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the length of a musket shot, yet in others it widens and offers a most majestic spectacle. Here it flows through banks covered with verdure, there it runs swiftly, in others it rushes with fury, cresting its waves with foam—a most impressive sight. The banks, verdure-clad, bend towards its raging waters, while numerous rivulets and rivers pour their floods within its capacious flanks. Elsewhere majestic forest trees cast their deep shades upon its waters, crown its course with their lofty heads—an immortal crown indeed. Such is the St. Lawrence; but that is not all. Imagine a long street, lined on both sides with houses built of wood or stone, painted in gay colours, islands of all shapes and sizes mirrored in its azure waters; picture to yourself all these objects repeated over and over again for the delectation of the admirers of nature; such is the St. Lawrence. But leave these pleasant scenes to penetrate the dark forests, the rocky breaks, the swamps, which are to be found, for instance, between Brockville and Kingston, what a contrast! Trees of great height cast their deep and sombre shadows and close on all sides the view; dark and mournful looking rocks throw a gloom on everything, not excepting the soul of the traveller. A cleft in the rocks gives passage to a torrent, spanned by a bridge fixed to both its perpendicular sides. These sombre scenes are not, however, without their grandeur and poetry; they suggest thoughts which are as a gleam of sunshine to the weary wayfarer. These rapid tumultuous streams foster, however, prospering industries, which have arisen on their banks, in the shape of grist, saw and fulling mills.

Kingston or Cataracoui.—The town of Kingston at the n. e. extremity of Lake Ontario in the County of Frontenac, lies under 44° 8′ n. lat. and 71° 41′ w. long. from Greenwich. It is the Capital of the Midland District. It is built on very rocky ground; whenever the foundations of a house are to be made they are dug out of solid rock. "This stone," says Liancourt, "has the remarkable qualities of being easy to cut and of hardening afterwards when exposed to the air; it is not split by the action of frost."* Notwithstanding this, the houses—which are considerable in number—are mostly built of wood.

*The writer was certainly misinformed; no one can claim these qualities for the Kingston limestone.

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This town stands on the site of old Fort Frontenac; a few of its remains are still to be seen. The Indians gave this place the name of Cataracoui, which means "Clay Soil." The town is on a point of land; it is built with good taste; the streets lie mostly at right angles, they are straight and wide. On its eastern limits are the barracks and the King's store-houses. The barracks, built partly of stone and partly of wood, are two stories high; they face a large square. A tower* now used as a powder magazine, and a triangular structure near the artillery barracks are the last vestiges of the French constructions. The remains of an earth-work, built by Bradstreet, who captured the fort from the French in 1758, are still to be seen. Two large wooden buildings towards the centre of the town are used as a military hospital.

Kingston is divided in two portions by a central square, which is used as a parade ground by the troops; there is also a market building, and opposite it is the Anglican Church; both are of wood. To the right of the square are the court house and the *cafe*† (hotel); both are of stone and two stories high. The latter is an excellent house in every respect, but the former is built in bad taste. On its ground floor are the kitchen and jail, the upper flat is divided into two apartments—the largest is used by the Courts of Justice, the Sessions sit in October and April annually; one of the apartments is used as a library, consisting of 400 or 500 volumes,‡ the annual subscription to which is 20 shillings.

A §teacher of considerable reputation keeps a school, which is very well patronized. With aid from the seminaries and inhabitants of Lower Canada a Roman Catholic Church of stone was erected; the interior is unfinished. It is used at present as a public hospital. An old wooden house, which was brought up a few years ago from one of the neighbouring islands, is now "the Commandant's" house; it is by no means handsome, but is prettily situated.‖

*The foundations of this tower are very distinctly visible to this day (1894) in the Barrack square, Tete du Pont Barracks, near the ball alley. According to Sheriff Ferguson, the original structure was not demolished until the thirties. A singular triangular foundation can be traced on this square. Its object cannot be easily determined, but may have been similar to the one referred to in the diary.

†At present the British American hotel; the older portion of the hotel, corner of Clarence and King, was built about 1808.

‡A goodly number of these volumes are to be found in the Library of the present Mechanics' Institute.

§The Rev. John Strachan, afterwards Archdeacon and first Bishop of Toronto.

‖The building referred to was the old Macaulay residence, which was floated on a raft from Carleton Island to Kingston about 1803. It is now Gowdy's butcher shop, corner of Ontario and Princess Streets.

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The remains of a moat or ditch, also of a glacis, constructed by the French, can still be seen on the public square. To the west is Point Mississaga, and still further west is Point Murney. These two important Points are fortified; batteries have been erected there. The interior of the first is faced with heavy square timber. In the rear of the town and on the right flank have been erected, recently, several redoubts, part of stone and part of wood; they defend the approaches from the north. Other defensive approaches have also been made.

The land behind Kingston slopes up gently. To the front is a bay, running 5 miles to the north. The Government has there magnificent mills.* This bay forms a fine harbor, where vessels can be secured most comfortably for wintering. The opposite shore, to the east, is cut into three points—the two furthest are quite high, but the middle one is of all others the loftiest spot in the neighbourhood. The furthest of these is known as Point Hamilton†; it is thickly wooded. Off its shore is Cedar Island, which is rocky, and quite recently laid bare of all its trees. On this island is a telegraph or signalling station, in view of Snake Island far out in the lake, and of other similar stations towards Cananocoui. The middle point is known as Point Henry; it has also been cleared of wood, with the object of planting there a camp of observation. It is proposed to erect here extensive fortifications. The nearest Point was formerly named Point Haldimand; this has been changed to Frederick or Navy Point. It is a very level piece of ground and low lying; it is well fortified. Between these two points is Navy Bay, occupied by the naval building yard and admiralty buildings. Troops are always quartered here in separate and very comfortable quarters. A hulk is moored in the bay between the two Points; it is used for hospital purposes. The security of Kingston on the water side depends on the co-operation of the batteries of Points Frederick and Mississaga, and the cross fire from these two points if well directed should make the entrance of the harbor an impossibility.

All the supplies for the Upper Countries pass through Kingston; it is also the principal depot of military stores, provisions,

*The Kingston Mills, five miles from the town.
†Now Cartwright's Point.

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etc. All these stores are usually brought here from Montreal in batteaus; large lake vessels in consequence seldom go further down the river, although the largest of them could easily reach Prescott, but the channel is narrow and the return could only be accomplished with the aid of a favorable wind. The first French vessels which navigated Lake Ontario were constructed at Cataracoui by M. de la Salle.*

Before 1784 this town was merely a military post where the King's stores and the trading houses of a few private individuals had been erected. It is from these comparatively recent beginnings that its present proportions have been reached; its commerce is prosperous.

The lands in the immediate neighbourhood are of indifferent quality; they are, however, of far better quality two or three miles away; they are being rapidly settled. The climate is good. "Larochefoucauld Liancourt says that its calcareous stone beds "are of the clayey type—fine grained and dark grey in colour. "The boulders, like elsewhere on the shores of Lake Ontario, are "of various sorts—schists and quartz; there are also layers of "granite. Large boulders, dark in color, resembling bazalt and "sandstones containing fossil remains, are frequently met with." Three miles back of the town flows a creek which has retained the name of Cataracoui. It is fairly wide, sluggish, very muddy, and its margins are fringed with bushes. It is crossed by the York Road. At the head of the bridge a small entrenchment with embrasures for cannon has been erected.

The Abbe Gaulin.†—Several families from Lower Canada are domiciled here, but they can claim neither rank nor fortune; two or three at the utmost live in comfort. The only French-Canadian one can associate with, with pleasure and profit, is the Missionary Gaulin, a truly learned, clever and witty man. He is a native of Quebec; he speaks English with perfect ease. No one excels him in public esteem, and no one so well deserves it. His virtues, his learning, manners, patriotism—all in this worthy

*During the last years of Fort Frontenac under the French, they maintained on Lake Ontario, a flotilla of from ten to twelve vessels; some 3 masted of about 200 tons burthen, carrying 20 guns, 4, 6 and 12 pounders.

†Remi Gaulin, born at Quebec, June 30, 1787, ordained Priest in 1811, was therefore quite a young man when he first came to Kingston as missionary. From 1815 to 1822 he served in a similar capacity in Nova Scotia; he then spent ten years in the diocese of Montreal as parish Priest. In 1833 he was consecrated coadjutor Bishop to Monsignor Alexander Macdonnell, first Bishop of Kingston. He succeeded him in the See in 1841; retired through ill-health in 1844; and died on the 8th of May, 1857. He was highly esteemed and beloved by all.

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priest and loyal compatriot—combine to secure him favourable reception wherever he presents himself, and causes him to be desired whenever absent. For our militiamen to know him was to love him, and to us, in this plight, the Abbe Gaulin has been a most precious friend. . . . . .

*Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond.**—The light company of the 104th Regiment was encamped at Point Henry when we took up our quarters there. Major Drummond, a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Provincial Militia, was Commandant.† I cannot help making a special mention of this brave and excellent officer. In April last he came up to Kingston with me, together with two companies of his regiment. We both put up at the same lodgings in Cornwall, and I had the honour of dining with him. During these few moments I formed the very highest opinion of him. He is one of those men who inspire affection at sight, and who win your respect and confidence even before becoming intimate. I had proof that my high estimate of his character was perfectly justified. My further relations with him fully convinced me that I had nowise over-estimated his worth. The Colonel is above the medium in height, has a dignified appearance, regular and clear-cut features and a charming expression. Some might think that he seems satisfied with his own personal appearance. I for one would feel disposed to forgive him this weakness, if it exists, for it would not be without considerable show of reason. He speaks French most correctly, with no foreign accent whatever; he expresses himself gracefully and with kindness. He is easy of access and not at all repellent in manner as is so often the case with officers of his rank and even junior rank. Whoever you may be you are received with kindness, listened to with attention; his politeness and manners are never wanting. To his many accomplishments Col. Drummond adds that of a knowledge of medicine. I have often seen him dress the wounds and administer medicine to his own men and to our Voltigeurs when the doctor was not at hand, and these services were all the more appreciated on account of his great suavity of manner. So many estimable qualities, together with his reputation for

*Killed at the assault on Fort Erie, on the 15th of August, 1813.

†In the Army List for 1812, William Drummond appears as Senior-Major of the 104th Regiment, at the time stationed in New Brunswick. The Regiment was ordered to Upper Canada during the winter of 1813. It marched all the distance from Fredericton to Quebec on showshoes.

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courage, so well sustained at the late attack on Sackett's Harbour, caused him to be idolized by the officers, his own men and the Voltigeurs.

On the 29th of April I was officer on duty, and that night, about midnight, the *alarm* was sounded. I was then asleep in the guard house. The news of the fall of York* had just been received, and it was believed that Brother Jonathan was marching down towards Kingston.

This news of the first success of the Americans during this war caused a deep impression on all, and many were the rumours which flew round. York in itself was not of supreme moment, but with it were lost an armed vessel and another about to be launched, together with considerable supplies of all sorts for the troops further to the front and in the west.

A sudden call to arms is liable to cause a certain amount of excitement and confusion, which led on this occasion to the death of one of our Voltigeurs, the first which had occurred since we have come here. At the first call the men seized their muskets; one of them, by mistake, picked up one which was not his own; it happened to be loaded with ball. He was tightening on the flint when it suddenly went off. The charge lodged itself in the back of a young man named Laframboise, who died a few hours after. A similar accident nearly happened to a soldier of the 104th Regiment in the adjoining barrack room, only in this case the ball buried itself in a chunk of pork which one of his comrades held in his hand.

(To be Continued.)

*The Capital of Upper Canada had capitulated to the Americans on the 27th of this month. The enemy had 10 vessels of war, under Commodore Chauncey, and 2,500 men, under General Dearborn, to effect a landing and attack, while General Sheaffe, who commanded this unfortified place, could oppose but 600 men—half of whom were militiamen. Notwithstanding this inferiority in numbers, Sheaffe did not hesitate to offer battle. The landing of the Americans was effected under General Pike, who perished at the moment of victory by the explosion of a powder magazine, where our troops had retired, but on being forced to evacuate it, blew it up. (Foot note appended by the writer of the diary.)

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SOCIAL EVOLUTION, ACCORDING TO MR. KIDD.

THE most complex and tangled skein of relations which the mind of man finds itself tempted to unravel, is presented by man himself in his social relations.

To many of those whose chief field of study has been some branch of the exact sciences, there seems to be legitimate ground for reproaching the students of society for the very slow progress which they make in developing a body of clear-cut and universal principles which will afford an accurate and adequate explanation of society. Such principles of social life and progress as have been most definitely expressed still lack firmness of body and sharpness of outline, while the great mass of minor principles are so fluid in their nature, so variously outlined and defined, and so uncertain in their range that they appear hardly deserving to be called scientific.

The explanation is, simply, that in society we find a realm where nature reaches her fullest and richest spiritual expression, an expression which even in its stablest forms is the joint product of a multitude of plastic, subtle and evanescent influences. Here is the meeting and mingling place of the concrete and the ideal, the actual and the possible, not to mention all the abortive attempts at the impossible both concrete and ideal.

Obviously here is a field which requires a very different treatment from that which succeeds in the mathematical, physical or biological sciences. True, the basis of society is a number of animal organisms, and the basis of wealth is a number of physical objects. But the animal organisms are the instruments of spiritual social purposes, and the physical objects as wealth are the means to social ends.

Nevertheless there is a type of mind which firmly believes that society may be explained by one or two rigid and universal principles, that all its disorders may be traced to one or two universal causes, and may be cured by one or two universal remedies. Every now and again some one proclaims the discovery of a simple, clear-cut, infallible solution of all historical and social problems.

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The last, and in some respects the most interesting, is the scheme of Mr. Benjamin Kidd, as presented in his work on *Social Evolution*. Mr. Kidd tackles the problem with the implements of biology. Biology, it is said, deals with organic life and has successfully formulated the laws of its development. But society is also an organism, therefore biology is perfectly competent to deal with it without changing its instruments. Social evolution is a form of organic evolution; this is Mr. Kidd's great discovery, and he marvels much that no one had recognized and followed it out before. All the reputed authorities in history, political science, theology and philosophy have hitherto been groping about in Egyptian darkness, making foolish, random guesses as to what human life meant. Judging from the criticisms they have made on his book, Mr. Kidd concludes, in the February number of *The Ninteenth Century*, that they intend to remain in their dark and unscientific condition. He finds that only those who have not made a special study of these branches of knowledge, have recognized the truth of his discovery. Somewhat pathetically he concludes that he must wait for the next generation to fully appreciate his labours. It is a trifle embarrassing to attempt the critical estimation of a book when the author warns one, to begin with, that if the criticism is adverse it shows a mind darkened by preconceptions, and if the criticism is favourable it indicates no previous training in the subjects, and therefore no adequate grasp of the truth. Mr. Kidd naively insinuates that his book is likely to occupy in time the same position with reference to social science that the *Origin of Species* does with reference to biological science. The parallel sets off badly, however, for the *Origin of Species* passed through the experts to the populace, while *Social Evolution*, like *Progress and Poverty* which it greatly resembles in method and purpose, has begun with the populace and can only hope for the experts in the next generation. Meantime the book is being read by thousands, and some critical estimate is looked for; so, forgetting for a time that it transcends our critical capacity, let us treat it as an ordinary human production.

Divesting the argument of its inflated and somewhat hysterical padding, and reducing the numerous superlatives to a comparative standing at most, we may state the case baldly and

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briefly, as follows. Biologically man is an animal. But biological science shows that the tendency to retrogression is so strong in the animal world that more than one-half of the race must be sacrificed in order that the race, as a race, may progress. This immense sacrifice is secured by the well-known process of natural selection, through the impulse of blind instinct. Under these conditions the race which was afterwards to become human made its progress. But when these animal progenitors of man began to develop reason and to employ it as an instrument superior to instinct for self-preservation and satisfaction, it inevitably led to a recognition of the distinction between the interests of the individual and of the race. Now reason, it is assumed, knows no other interest than that of the individual, and this is the condition of the individual's efficiency. Reason is but a function of the individual organism. Having no interest in the race it will never induce the individual to sacrifice his ease or well-being for the good of the race,—quite the reverse. But, man being subject to retrogression, without self-sacrifice there is no racial progress possible. Hence, under the guidance of reason alone, the human race would be arrested in its development on the very threshold of its career.

Obviously this arrestment did not take place; so there must have been some influence more powerful than reason which enforced sacrifice. What has it been? It cannot, of course, be in any sense rational, neither can it be simply non-rational or indifferent to reason, it must be actively irrational or opposed to reason as regards the whole range of self-sacrifice in the interest of the race at least. It must also be ultra- or super-rational as capable of subduing reason in its natural opposition to social well-being. If, then, reason is the instrument of individualism, this opposing power will be the instrument of altruism. Reason is the chief function and guide of the individual organism. Its opponent is the chief function and guide of the social organism. By what name do we know this mysterious power as it has worked in the world? Obviously, says Mr. Kidd, it is religion.

Now observe some of the consequences of this important discovery. Just as reason in general is the common name given to the rational element as exhibited in concrete organic individuals, each one with an individuality, character and life-object of his

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own; so religion in general is the common name given to the religious element as exhibited in concrete organic societies, each one with an individuality, character and life-object of its own. In Mr. Kidd's condensation in the *Ninteenth Century* for February, this central feature of the new discovery is thus expressed: "The social system, founded on a form of religious belief, forms an organic growth, which is the seat of a series of historical phenomena unfolding themselves in obedience to laws that may be enunciated." These laws, of course, are biological. Thus we are told that the social sphere of Christianity forms one organism, to be treated as a single organic unit; Mahometanism is the soul or spirit of another organism, and so on. Again, observe the relation of these organisms—the rational and the religious—to one another. Just as in the rational, human organism the organs gather strength and vitality to themselves, according to laws which have nothing to do with reason, but which reason may overcome and contradict for a time by drawing on the strength and vitality of an organ for rational objects, which are not the objects of this or that organ but of the whole organism; so in the irrational, religious or social organism the rational individual gathers together, under the influence of reason, everything which will tend to his individual welfare regardless of other individuals, until the religious, altruistic spirit, overcoming his will and contradicting his reason for a time, draws on his accumulated power or wealth for rational objects, which are not the objects of this or that individual but of the whole social organism. To state this in Mr. Kidd's own language: "The process at work in human society is always developing two inherently antagonistic but complementary tendencies; namely, (1) the tendency requiring the increasing subordination of the individual to society, and (2) the rationalistic tendency leading the individual at the same time to question, with increasing insistence, the authority of the claims requiring him to submit to a process of social order in which he has absolutely no interest, and which is operating largely in the interests of unborn generations. In a healthy and progressive society, the fundamental principle of its existence is, that the second tendency must be continually subordinated to the first. But the intellect has no power to effect this subordination."

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This, then, as Mr. Kidd himself insists, is the centre of his system, and amid all the criticisms of his book which he has seen not one of them has ventured to attack this citadel. The critics have spent their ammunition on the outworks, most of which might be sacrificed, he thinks, without affecting the central stronghold. This might well be, for the greater part of the book is a mere tangle of outworks having little or no connection with the central principle, but simply tending to obscure it. Most people have been so diverted and entertained in the contemplation of these outworks that they have not discovered that there was any central structure in the midst of them, hence Mr. Kidd's pathetic acknowledgement that the admirers of the book are not aware of its real meaning.

When once we have grasped the central biological principles of the book, we see that the revolution which awaits the next generation in the teaching of history, political science, religion, philosophy, art and literature will be overwhelmingly humiliating for the present authorities in these lines. Mr. Kidd, indeed, shows remarkable tenderness for the feelings of these unfortunates in his very mild indication that as regards a comprehensive and adequate view of their subjects they are still in the mists of the dark ages. But the conqueror can afford to be gracious to his helpless and disarmed opponents.

Just imagine, however, how extremely Egyptian is the darkness in which those grope who believe and teach that religion is based on ideas; that Christianity, for instance, was propagated by precept and example, appealing to the rational and personal needs of men through the intellectual media of language and ideas. How blinking and sheepish they would appear if brought into the noonday glare of the truth that Christianity is simply the biological principle in a certain social organism composed of western civilization, and that as regards the individual it is something "in which he has absolutely no interest," and which he can neither help nor hinder by intellectual methods.

Of course the coming generation will build no churches and support no clergymen or other ecclesiastical machinery operating by intellectual methods, for it is as impossible to persuade people to become Christians as it is to persuade them to circulate their blood. Nevertheless many clergymen, strolling about

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among the ingenious and fantastic outworks of *Social Evolution*, embodying as they do all sorts of inconsistent and opposite principles of architecture, have observed what they took to be very beautiful and impregnable ecclesiastical structures. Straightway they broke into panegyrics on the entire system, believing that at last an architect had arisen who, upon the deepest and surest foundations, had reared a fortress of faith that would withstand all the assaults of the enemy, being armed with the enemy's own weapons. These are part of that large "outside world" which has received the book with favour. They feel instinctively, as Mr. Kidd gratefully acknowledges, that he is right, but, as he cannot hide from himself, they don't know that their own conception of the book is wrong.

It is not worth while to point out what obscure graves await the recognized leaders of modern thought in other branches of human science under the new dispensation. That new dispensation will never arrive, being based on absurd contradictions of experience. If the author had only followed out his own principle consistently he would have exposed his own errors. As it is, he writes of Christianity, the Reformation and modern social purposes and problems in a manner which indicates that they are rational, interesting to the individual and wrought out by intellectual methods. Further, there is not the slightest evidence for saying that the rational interests of man do not extend beyond the individual, or that reason is merely a self-preservative instrument of the individual organism. The simplest enumeration of intellectual interests exposes that elementary mistake. Again, so far as religious teaching emphasizes the altruistic interests of man it does so through intellectual media. But so far from religion preserving the physical vitality and progressiveness of the race and continuing among men the work of natural selection among animals, it has just the opposite tendency. It tends to preserve the poorer, weaker and least progressive specimens, and hampers the more vigorous elements of the race with the support of the unfortunate, not to mention the physical deterioration in many sections of the race which results from the social check on natural selection. Finally Mr. Kidd has been carried away by a mere metaphor. He treats the so-called social organism as though it were a real organism embodying

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biological principles, when it is simply a metaphoric expression, referring to no special social institution, having no definite limits, nor any definable structure. Probably no one before Mr. Kidd ever dreamed of applying it to the vague field of Christian influence. Individual rational beings in their various social relations with each other are the beginning and end of all human organization, and the organic metaphor is merely convenient in describing these relations in general.

But the whole structure of the theory rests on this mistake and falls with it, leaving only some of the inconsistencies and side issues in the book of any permanent interest or value.

A. SHORTT.

SAYINGS FROM SCHILLER.

This is the true mystery, which lies open to the eyes of all, and surrounds them for ever, and yet is perceived by none.

—

If thou canst not please all with thy work and thy art, seek to find favour with the few. The praise of the many is fatal.

—

Does thy deed fall short of perfection, still it is thine to hold with resolute will to thy purpose; and thus as a spirit shalt thou do what is denied to thee as a mortal.

—

Why can the living spirit not reveal itself to spirit? When the soul *speaks*, alas, it is no longer the *soul* that speaks.

L. S.

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CRITICAL NOTES.

THE CHIEF DOCTRINE OF ÆSCHYLUS.

ÆSCHYLUS' view of human life is extremely simple on the whole, though a closer examination, which space at present forbids, would reveal some elements of complexity. By far the most prominent characteristic of his plays is the Hebraic intensity with which he grasps, or rather is grasped by the majesty of the moral order of the universe. The constant burden of his song is just what he calls the old, old story—sin and sorrow. Here he finds the key to the destiny of men, and families and nations. The doom of Troy is a punishment for violated hospitality. Agamemnon perishes because his hands are stained with his own child's blood, the champions against Thebes suffer for their impious boastings, the Titan Prometheus for his rebellious self-will. Zeus himself is subject to Moral Law. The helmsmen of destiny are the Triple Fates and the mindful Erinyes—that is, the retributive powers which jealously guard the sanctity of the primal ties. Even Almighty Power has its limit—it must fall if it stumble on the altar of Justice. That to Æschylus is the rock foundation of all things—deeper fixed, one might say, than the thrones of the Gods themselves; or rather the Gods are Gods to him only in so far as they are the representatives and executants of this everlasting order. Rebellion against this august law—this harmony of Zeus as he once calls it—is to him, as to all pious spirits, the most astounding thing in the world. Among all the monsters and marvels with which earth and sky are teeming, most marvellous and monstrous, wilder than tempests, more baleful than meteors, more foul than obscene birds or crawling things—is the rebellious spirit of man. For a time, indeed, prosperity may seem to attend on crime and men bow down to wealth as a God, yea more than a God. But Justice despises the wealth which is stamped with the false die of counterfeit honour. She loves to dwell with the honest heart, flies with averted eyes from the gold-bedizened palaces of the ungodly, and shines in the smoky cabins of the righteous poor. The doom

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of the wicked is not far distant. He sails with favouring gales to strike on the sunken reef. The good man may be perplexed by the apparent security of the insolent and impious, but let him take courage. Soon with stern joy shall he see a spectacle which makes him own the sway of righteous laws, and brings back the light of day to him—the darked-veiled daughter of Zeus Justice unsheath her biting steel and strike home right through the lungs. Fools find sin sweet at the first, but the end of these things is death. Paris lightly chasing pleasure, like a giddy boy who pursues a bright-winged bird, shames the friendly board and lures away the wife of his host from her dainty-curtained bower. He heeds not the desolation of the house which he has darkened with disgrace and sorrow—the mute anguish of the dishonoured husband yearning for her that is over the sea, and beholding only in the elusive joy of dreams that vanished loveliness, the lack of whose fair eyes makes all other fair things hateful to the man. The ravisher bears away his stolen treasure gaily to his father's halls, and the sons of Priam boldly chant his unhallowed nuptial song. Fools! She seemed to them a spirit of windless calm, the fair ornament of palaces, a soul-piercing flower of love. Little did they think that that fair face would prove to them a fell Fury, a Priestess of Ruin who should launch against their town a thousand ships and fire the hapless towers of Ilium. Verily the gods are not blind to evil deeds. A reprobate and of kin to evil men is he who avers that they take no heed when mortals defile and trample under foot the grace of sacred things.

Here then we have the dominant note of Æschylus—sin and sorrow. He explicitly rejects the old doctrine of the Envy of the Gods. There is an old saw, he says, that a man's prosperity when once full grown, dies not childless, but breeds for his race a woe incurable. This view he emphatically denies and sets over against it his own. Apart he holds his solitary creed that it is sin which brings forth after his own kind, evil seed from an evil stock.

As little does he make man the helpless sport of destiny. Doubtless the family-curse plays a great and terrible part in his dramas. He has profoundly grasped the undeniable truth that the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation. But never in Æschylus does the curse fall on any whose own hands are pure. The house of

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Atreus is the great example. It seems the prey of a malign inevitable fate. Each successive generation brings forth anew, some monstrous birth of lust and murder. But there is no external compulsion; it is ever the perverse will that is active, the frenzy of wickedness, and infatuate hardening of the heart. Agamemnon for instance falls under the curse. He is murdered by his own wife and her paramour. But his death is the righteous and natural requital for his own deeds, for he has slain the daughter of his murderess, his own child Iphigenia. The fleet could not sail for Troy till the anger of Artemis had been appeased by the sacrifice of some one of his race. Agamemnon had to choose between frustrated ambition, and the most unnatural blood-guiltiness. He took his part at last and steeled his mind to become the slayer of his daughter. Rather than give up his cherished dreams of conquest he brings himself to look upon that white flower of innocence laid by rude hands on the unhallowed altar; he quenches with the gag's dumb violence the clear virginal voice which often had rung through his halls to grace her loved father's third libation for good fortune. The piercing appeal of the sad eyes that gaze upon him as from some helpless pictured form of sorrow have no power to melt his iron heart. Therefore since from ambition he has done this thing, it is just the consummation of that ambition which brings his doom. For returning home victorious over Troy and welcomed with the honours due to a God, he is snared in his bath by his own wife and Ægisthus and cut down like an ox. They too fall under the curse and receive the just reward of their treacherous wickedness. But when a pure scion of this accursed stock appears, the pupil and protegé of Apollo the pure God of light, the curse has no permanent power over him. He suffers pain indeed, but his end is peace. He returns in honour at last and reigns in the house which he has cleansed.

So simple in the main is Æschylus' criticism of life. With a a deep-toned earnestness and splendid affluence of imagery, equalled only by the Hebrew prophets, and a plastic power in which he greatly excels them, he grasps the central facts of the moral world. As Carlyle said of him, it is like hearing the rocks speak to us. And though from the nature of his work, which is Tragedy, the side of the great laws exhibited by him is chiefly

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punitive, he does not fail to show us clearly that in them we find not only our limits but our life. The grim Erinyes are above all the representatives of retribution; yet, even they have another aspect; they are also the Eumenides, the Benignant ones. They are the sharp spikes of Eternal Ordinance, terrible, hideous, a consuming fire. But on the other side their face is gracious, and not wrathful. To those who fear and honor them they send up light from their dark abodes beneath the earth, soft airs to blow with sunshine over the land, buds unscathed by mildew, abundant flocks, happy homes. It is precisely the thought of Wordsworth—sweetness resting on the knees of inviolable law.

Stern Lawgiver, yet Thou dost wear
The Godhead's most benignant grace,
Nor know we anything more fair
Than is the smile upon Thy face.
Flowers blow before Thee on their beds
And fragrance in Thy footing treads;
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,
And the most ancient heavens thro' Thee are fresh and strong.*

J. MACNAUGHTON.

*Compare the saying of Heraclitus that if the sun were to leave his course the Erinyes would force him back to it.

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The Religions of the World. By G. M. Grant, D.D., Principal Queen's University, Canada. Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1894.

Comte, Mill and Spencer: An Outline of Philosophy. By John Watson, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Queen's College, Kingston, Canada. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Very appreciative notices of these two works appear in *The Week* for March 15th. The Principal's work is reviewed by the Rev. Herbert Symonds, while Prof. Clarke Murray of McGill University gives an estimate of "Dr. Watson's New Book." We are content to quote the testimony of such competent and authoritative critics as to the merits of these works. Mr. Symonds writes that for the purposes of the general reader "we know of no work which can compare with Principal Grant's 'Religions of the World'. . . . . His attitude towards great historic faiths is the truly Christian attitude of sympathy and charity. . . . . His love of the truth is so sincere, and his conviction as to the real superiority of Christianity and its essential difference from all other religions is so firm, that he is no more afraid of acknowledging the good in them than a sun-worshipper might be of admitting that the moon gives some light . . . . . The method adopted is not only extremely interesting but valuable to the divinity student, and to the general reader who has not the leisure to devote much time to this study. . . . . The author adopts the Bishop of Ripon's permanent elements of a perfect religion, viz: Dependence, Fellowship and Progress, corresponding to the revelation of God: the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. His application of the test supplied by this analysis to Confucianism is one of the most instructive passages in his instructive book." Mr. Symonds concludes his notice with quotations from some of "the illuminating passages" in the book.

Of Dr. Watson's book Prof. Clarke Murray says, "it must be welcome to all who take an interest in the higher thought of the world. It must be specially welcome to Canadians as exhibiting the kind of philosophical teaching which is within the reach of university students in the Dominion. Dr. Watson is one of these effective writers who keep us from forgetting that there is

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a sphere of human knowledge which claims the old name of philosophy . . . . . Primarily the book is designed to furnish an outline of philosophy, and, as the preface explains, the criticism of the three authors named in the title is subservient to this primary object . . . . . I certainly do not know any work in English which can be compared with it for the purpose it is intended to serve . . . . . Prof. Watson modestly describes himself as adopting the philosophical creed which has been represented in recent English literature most prominently by Professor Green and the Master of Balliol. But neither of these writers, with all their eminent services to philosophical literature has shown such a complete mastery of idealism in all its bearings as this outline of Professor Watson's; and to me the book, small though it may be, seems a substantial addition to the higher thought of the world.

Composition from Models. By W. J. Alexander, Ph.D., Professor of English in University College, Toronto, and M. F. Libby, B.A., English Master in the Parkdale Collegiate Institute, Toronto. Toronto: The Copp, Clark Co., 1894.

This is a practical manual of composition in which the selections, consisting of extracts from standard authors, are judiciously classified and arranged as Historical Narratives, Letters, Description, Character Sketches, Interpretation, &c., and intended to serve as models for the student. At the end of each extract a list of themes is suggested for practice, and an analytic examination both of the style and the matter is given. As a book of extracts it is one of the best we have seen, interesting, comprehensive and based on a high standard of taste. We are sure it will be of great service to the teacher as saving him the time and trouble of selection. The analysis or examination of models at the end of each extract will also be helpful, though perhaps it might deal more with the fundamental or architectonic principles of composition. We can heartily recommend the work.

History, Prophecy and the Monuments By J. F. McCurdy, Ph. D., LL.D. Publishers: Macmillan & Co., 66 Fifth Avenue, New York. Vol. I, price, $3.00 *net.*

WE have here the first volume, to be followed speedily by the second and concluding volume, of an important work by the accomplished Professor of Oriental Languages in University College, Toronto. Dr. McCurdy is a member of that

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small but brilliant group of scholars who in different countries have devoted themselves to the decipherment of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, with the happy result of enlarging our knowledge of early civilization by long periods of time, of reflecting much light on the references of Greek writers, wherever they deal with Asiatic history, but specially of illustrating, confirming or clearing up the statements of Biblical writers.

The history of the decipherment of the Cuneiform Inscriptions from the first happy guess of Grotefend in 1802 down to the present date reads almost like a chapter of romance. The pages of this history are studded with the names of such widely-known scholars as Rask, Burnouf, Lassen, Westergaard, Hincks, Rawlinson and Oppert, whose intellectual energy was supplied with the material for study by the explorations of Botta, Layard, George Smith and Hormuzd Rassam.

So numerous are the discoveries made in this department of investigation, that accounts given a few years ago are now antiquated, and it becomes necessary, therefore, from time to time to "take stock" of the situation, and to give a fresh summary of the results of exploration.

Dr. McCurdy's work is of the nature of a restatement of the discoveries up to date, with special reference to their bearing on the Old Testament records, not in the form of a commentary as done by Schrader or on detached questions, but on a consistent plan and covering the whole field in an orderly method.

Though intended as a popular treatment of the subject, hardly a page can be read which does not bear witness, from the citations made, to immense reading and wide-ranging inquiry. The easy reading of this book has entailed hard study and writing on the part of the author, and its statements may be relied on as based on first-hand knowledge of the original authorities themselves.

The value of the present work to the Biblical student is many sided. It has been the express aim of the author to set forth the history of the Hebrew nation in its true perspective, and to give to it its proper historical setting as related to and influenced in its course by other and more powerful nations of the same stock, which preceded or were contemporaneous with Israel.

It lay outside the plan of the author to deal at any length with Semitic religion and mythology. The interest is mainly in the

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historical field and not in the critical. There is only passing reference to the Babylonian Creation-story, or the deluge-legend, or to the vexed question of the different Codes of the Hexateuch, although these too are discussed but not for critical purposes.

The origin of the Mesopotamian Kingdoms of Babylon and Assyria, is shown to be in harmony with the Biblical statement that out of Babylon "went forth Asshur," Assyria being later in origin and having most influence on the fortunes of Israel. In fact, throughout the existence of Israel, it was the masterful and cruel Assyrian power that dominated the eastern world, the career of universal conquest which the Assyrian monarchs adopted, bringing them first in contact with the Hebrews.

Of the Hyksos and their affinities, the rise of the Hittites and their racial character, the kings of Sippar and their date 4000 B.C., the priest-rulers of Lagash, and the many interesting identifications between Scripture and the monuments, together with the harmonies and discrepancies between the Biblical chronology and the Eponym-lists of Governors and the Assyrian Canons of Rulers, we have no space to speak.

To only one point will we make reference. In denying a Turanian race as the basis on which the Semitic kingdoms of Sumir-Accad were founded, as the race that originated a civilization and literature which were prior to the immigration of the Semites and borrowed by the Semites, Dr. McCurdy stands so far as we know alone, and is in conflict with the general views of Assyrian scholars.

In conclusion we must characterize this book as of the very highest merit, written in the most lucid style, and an admirable statement of the present state of our knowledge, doing with like industry and scholarship for the general reader what Schrader, Hommel, Winckler and others have done for the specialist in Biblical study.

The book is a credit to Canadian scholarship, and is destined to take its place as the fullest and clearest exposition of the subject, until it too in due time is superseded through the accumulation of new and larger knowledge in this ever-widening field of research. A. B. N.

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CURRENT EVENTS.

WHEN France is quiet, the prospect for peace in Europe is good; and several things have happened in the last three months to sober France. A new Czar is autocrat of all the Russias, and he has given no direct sign of that sentimental attitude in her favour, with which his father was credited, for somewhat scant reasons. Then, the resignation of the President, Casimir Perier, was a severe blow to national pride. It was gallantly borne, indeed, and M. Faure was installed in the high place with almost the same calmness and speed with which the son of a hereditary monarch succeeds to the throne. But the hisses, yells of rage and execrations directed against the ex-President showed that the blow had struck home. What greater insult could be offered to France than an act which proclaimed that the highest office in her gift was not worth holding? It lowered the Republic in the eyes of friends and of possible enemies. It lessened the hope of securing a Russian or any other alliance. As long as the Presidency was sacrosanct, there was one man to represent the unity of France and the continuity of her life and policy; a man whom the Czar's representatives could talk to to-day with an assurance that he would be found filling the same post to-morrow. Now, there is no such security. The men who worried one President into resigning feel that they can worry another. Their shouts, when M. Faure was elected, that "he would last three months," announced that. They will do their best to execute their threats, when it suits their role; and though the new President appears to be of a different fibre from his predecessor, no one can be sure. The office has been smirched. Besides, the Chamber has had to listen to some unpalatable truths concerning the relative inferiority of the army to that of Germany, in numbers, equipment and readiness for mobilization, notwithstanding the prodigious sacrifices which have been made. Finally, it is seen that England is determined to be mistress of the sea, no matter what it costs. The Liberal Ministry has heartily accepted the policy of the Conservatives and Unionists in this regard. Consequently, France, which at bottom has an enormous reserve of common sense, has settled down to a peace policy. So much the worse, of course, for poor Madagascar, and so much the better for the Industrial Exhibition which Paris is to hold in the year 1900!

OUR EASTERN NEIGHBOURS.

Casimir Perier has retired into private life, not exactly after the manner of Cincinnatus or Diocletian. He has no intention, however, of remaining a full private, and may yet be heard again in the Cham-

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ber. If he gets there, it will not be pleasant for some of those who attacked him when he could not strike back. As he is a strong man, though stronger to act and to dare than to suffer silently, and as the French people do not cherish resentments and have not a great store of available public men, the odds are in favour of him again becoming Premier as well as Deputy. If so, he may revise the Constitution. He knows by bitter experience the helplessness of the Presidency and the necessity of making it a reality. The President reigns but does not govern. That system works well enough in England, where "the Divinity that doth hedge a King" is still felt, and where the greatest Minister would not dare to insult or even to regard too lightly the wishes of the Crown. But such a sentiment requires centuries for its growth, and a Republic should either give to its head genuine power, as in the United States, or dispense with a head altogether, as some of the French Radicals logically propose. Canadians would never give to any man the powers which the President of the States has. They prefer the large freedom which they have under the British Constitution, and as long as they are of that mind, they must have for Governor-General a direct representative of the Crown, or become a kingdom—as Sir John A. Macdonald wished—and have one of the Queen's sons for King. To make one of our politicians Governor-General would be to invite fiascoes more humiliating than that which Casimir Perier has inflicted on France. Neither the Queen nor the Governor-General is a mere figure-head. But, M. Faure is that and cannot be anything more.

THE old proverb that "threatened men live long" seems to apply to Lord Rosebery's Government as well as to Established Churches. It is doing good work, too, at home and abroad. Mr. Gladstone has been, from the first, behind it, in pressing for a full investigation into the Armenian horrors, and his influence on public opinion, when a moral question is concerned, is irresistible. Old alliances, political considerations, the balance of power, all alike go down before his wrath. "Every nation has authority in behalf of humanity and justice," he cries, and all Evangelical and Non-Conformist consciences say Amen.

The adoption of the principle of eight hours as a working day in all establishments where Government work is done will give a valuable impetus to the movement to make it as universal in the United Kingdom as it has been for years in Australia. Its success there, in getting improved work done and in raising the tone of the workmen, without increasing the cost of the product, is generally admitted. Australian Trades-Unions have made some bad mistakes, but this is not one of them. Experiments along the same line by leading firms in England have also been successful, and there can be little doubt that the Government's action will be vindicated by the results. As Macaulay declared, in contending for the Ten Hours Bill, when England yields her industrial sceptre it shall not be to a rival whose sons have been

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dwarfed by working sixteen hours a day. It is now conceded, too, that high wages are economical.

The Government has dispensed its patronage on the whole wisely; its Church patronage, in England, well; in Scotland, ill. Sir William Vernon Harcourt, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Morley, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Bryce, Lord Spencer and Lord Ripon, have added to their reputations. Lord Rosebery alone cannot be called a success, though at present little is said concerning him, partly because of sympathy with him in his illness, and partly because he is a favourite both with the Queen and Mr. Gladstone. When he resigns the Premiership, he will never take it up again. When the inevitable Dissolution of Parliament comes, all the signs point to a Liberal rout. The Welsh Disestablishment Bill has roused the Church. Irish Church Disestablishment, Burials Bills, Admission of Jews to Parliament, and numerous other measures as well as decisions of the courts angered only sections of the clergy and individuals among the laity. But Welsh Disestablishment is a different matter. It is an attempt to lop off a limb from a living body, and it implies that Wales is a separate kingdom from England. Ecclesiastical and political forces of great weight are therefore arrayed against it, and these are likely to tell, in Wales itself as well as in England, at the next election. Irish Home Rule is dead for the present, and its dead weight handicaps the Liberals. The tide, too, seems to be running against them.

Almost every one rubbed his eyes when he read in the newspapers that the Leader of the House of Commons had allowed something like a bimetallist resolution to be carried without a division, and had intimated that he would consent to the holding of another Monetary Conference. After all allowances are made for the circumstances in which it was passed, and chiefly for the fact that patient, cool-headed, much-enduring Mr. Bull is willing to hear everything than can be urged on any and every side of a question, even on perpetual motion, spirit-rapping or the squaring of a circle, it is undeniable that an enormous number of people, in Europe as well as in America, have got it into their heads that the present trade depression is due to gold monometallism and the appreciation of gold. There will be two sides on this, as long as there are two standards in the world, some countries using silver and others using gold. That will be a long time yet. The question is a very complex one, and it is a great deal better that experts from different countries should meet together and thresh it out, if that be possible, or at any rate make some definite proposals, than that it should be relegated to owners of silver mines who control Senators or to demagogues who simply shout for "the dollar of our fathers" with the sole object of controlling votes. Sir William Vernon Harcourt therefore did well in not opposing the resolution, though few thinking men expect more from a second Conference than they got from the first. England has the greatest interest at stake, of any country in the world, on both sides of the question. On the one side, she is the great creditor nation of the world. On the other side, she owns India, and does an immense trade with China and Japan,

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THE politicians of the United States, in and out of Congress, are very angry with Canada. The head and front of our offending is that we desire to live our own life, and that in order to be able to do so with security, we intend to preserve our organic connection with the Mother Country. In the *Forum* for March, there are two articles as significant as the two Acts by which the late Congress specially showed its spirit. Senator Lodge, a shining light on the Republican side, says in the first article,—"The Government of Canada is hostile to us. They lose no opportunity of injuring us. They keep open the question of the fisheries both in the Atlantic and Pacific, and complicate constantly our relations with Great Britain." Never was such a cry of distress heard, since the memorable plea of the wolf against the aggressive lamb. There is no specification of any act of hostility on our part, or of any injury inflicted by us. Fancy Canada "injuring" the great Republic! But, we have contended that the waters on our Atlantic coasts are our own, for the distance prescribed by the law of nations, and we had the audacity to argue before a great International Court that a section of the Pacific ocean was not "a closed sea," and we were wicked enough to gain our case. What is to be done unto us for these injuries inflicted on our neighbours? "Why," continues the Senator, "If Canada desires the advantages of our great markets, let her unite with us, either entirely or as to tariffs." Was there ever such a volte-face? We are to be shut out of the U. S. markets, not because we are "hostile" or have inflicted "injury" on the unoffending wolf, but simply because we desire to do a mutually advantageous trade with neighbours. That desire is to be used as a lever to disrupt the British Empire, or at any rate to force us into union with the commercial combines which protection has fostered, in order that the combines may surround the whole Continent with the highest tariff wall which Congress can construct! In the next article, that all-wise modern Midas, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, also an influential member of the Republican party, because of his contributions to its campaign fund, thus discourses: "Although I am opposed to taxing the food and the necessaries of the people, I should make an exception in regard to Canada, and this without regard to the doctrines of either free trade or protection, but as a matter of high (*sic!*) politics. . . . . Therefore, I should tax highly all her products entering the United States; and this I should do, not in dislike for Canada, but for love of her, in the hope that it would cause her to realize that the nations upon this Continent are expected to be American nations, and I trust finally one nation so far as the English-speaking portion is concerned. I should use the rod not in anger but in love; but I should use it." Was ever the vulgar insolence of wealth more displayed? I.. ... I..... I..... I.. ..... I..... I..... I, &c., &c. So the whole article reads. Mr. Carnegie was, I believe, born in Scotland, but he is as ignorant of the history of Scotland as he is of the history of Canada. For how many centuries did England try his style of "loving" Scotland? Was it the rod which united the two nations? It may be said that a man who talks so blatantly about

OUR SOUTHERN NEIGHBOURS.

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the people he "loves" is not worth answering. True. But straws show how the current runs, and the Republicans have captured Congress. Not that the last Congress can be mentioned with honour. Its treatment of the Neckar Island question and the Behring Sea claims was on a par with its wanton waste of over sixteen millions of dollars on a small loan, so far as extravagance goes, while violation of international comity and courtesy is joined to the extravagance in the former cases. Mr. Cleveland showed that the bond syndicate thought it worth sixteen millions to have the word "gold" rather than "coin" in their bond; but the men who take good care to insert "gold" in their own mortgages refused to make the change, when the money of the people was to be saved or lost. It does not rain dollars even in the States; and every million wasted means more general privation and longer depression. Again, that there is to be a cable between Australia and Canada is settled. Very naturally Hawaii wished to tap it, and the parties interested in the cable offered to oblige them, in exchange for a subsidy and a lease of an uninhabited and uninhabitable bit of rock as a landing place. The rock could not be fortified. It has not even the ghost of a harbour. Yet, in spite of the President's recommendation, the Senate took advantage of a clause in an old Treaty with Hawaii to forbid the lease. Still worse is the case of the poor fellows whose ships were seized in Behring Sea. Their property was destroyed and they were thrown into prison. The Court of Arbitration having decided against the States, and the damages having been assessed at three quarters of a million, Mr. Secretary Gresham on behalf of the Government offered something over $400,000 as a settlement. To save expenses and delay, the offer was accepted. Congress rejected the settlement and made no other provision in the case! The President is a gentleman and of course apologised to Britain, but while that makes the matter all right between the two Governments, what of the wronged sealers in the meantime!

Why do I speak of these things? Mr. Carnegie would say, "because I love the States." So be it; but the real reason is that "forewarned is forearmed." It is not wise for us to be under illusions with regard to the prevailing sentiments of the men who represent a powerful neighbour. Canada must make up its mind that it is not going to realize its freedom without cost. It must decide to be really one with Britain, politically and commercially, or to throw in its lot with the States, or to assert a puny independence. We will do neither the one thing nor the other, and I do not wonder that the nation to the South of us is irritated at our attitude. Halting between two or three opinions is not the way to gain the respect of any one, or to preserve our own self-respect. If we will only be consistent, no harm is likely to befall us; but if we attempt to ride two or three horses at the same time, we are pretty sure to find ourselves in a sorry plight before long. G.

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